

# Historical Origins of the Early Christian Concept of the Holy Spirit: Perspectives from the Dead Sea Scrolls

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## 1. Introduction

### Comparing the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament

The Dead Sea scrolls mainly consist of a large collection of scrolls and fragments found in the caves near Qumran, close to the north-western shore of the Dead Sea. They contain Jewish literary texts, copied from the late third century B.C.E. till the first century C.E., mostly written in Hebrew, and some in Aramaic or Greek. A large minority of the scrolls and fragments contain texts which we now refer to as Hebrew Bible or Old Testament, and some other texts which were otherwise already familiar to scholarship. However, most of the discovered scrolls presented Jewish religious texts from the Hellenistic and Roman period that had not been known at all.<sup>1</sup>

Based on the early publication in the 1950s of some of the best preserved scrolls, most scholars regarded the scrolls as the library of a Jewish sect, perhaps to be identified or associated with the Essenes which were described by Philo and Josephus. It was and is generally thought that these scrolls were deposited in the caves during the first Jewish War, probably in 68 C.E. when the site of Qumran was destroyed. These scrolls therefore give an unprecedented and new insight in the beliefs and practices of at least one particular group of Jews just before and during the genesis of Early Christianity.

Initially, from the 1950s until the 1970s many New Testament scholars enthusiastically studied the newly found scrolls, and discovered many surprising and enlightening parallels with the New Testament, to such an extent that many assumed some kind of relationship between the scrolls and early Christian writings, or, at the least, agreed that the scrolls shed new light on the New Testament and the earliest developments of Christianity.<sup>2</sup> At present, New Testament scholars are less prone to such overenthusiastic appropriation of the scrolls. In general, biblical scholarship has moved away from what has been dubbed as parallelomania, and what once was seen as a fairly

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<sup>1</sup>There are numerous and different kinds of introductions to the scrolls. For brief introductions see Timothy H. Lim, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism* (ed. John J. Collins and Daniel C. Harlow; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2010), 163-80, repr. in *Early Judaism: A Comprehensive Overview* (ed. John J. Collins and Daniel C. Harlow; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2012), 204-27. For the most recent state-of-the-art survey, cf. Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

<sup>2</sup>For a brief characterization of the history of New Testament scholarship and the Dead Sea scrolls, see George J. Brooke, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), ch. 1 "The Qumran Scrolls and the Study of the New Testament"

close relationship between the scrolls and early Christian writings, or between the groups behind those texts, has now been problematized as more complicated. Another, more mundane reason is that the deluge of editions since the mid 1990s of fragmentary texts, and the internal discourses in scrolls scholarship about date and sectarian or nonsectarian provenance has made easy access for New Testament scholars, who already have to deal with a manifold of texts of different nature, much more complicated than half a century ago.

The case of the scrolls and the Holy Spirit is a good example. It is well known that in the Hebrew Bible or Old Testament, the phrase holy spirit is used only three times, in Isa 63:10-11, and Ps 51:13 (Eng. 11), each time with the personal suffix referring to God: “his,” respectively “your” “holy spirit.” In the New Testament, however, the expression is used about ninety times, but in a manner that cannot easily be explained as deriving directly from the Hebrew Bible, for example by an absolute use “the Holy Spirit,” without possessive personal pronoun. With the publication of the very first Dead Sea scroll, now known as 1QS, the *Serekh ha-Yahad*, or the *Rule of the Community*, New Testament scholars had access to a text that not only described a community organization that shared elements with descriptions of the first Christian communities, but which also referred to a holy spirit no less than four times, and a few more times to an angel or spirit of truth. The subsequent publication of other texts which were assumed to belong to the same sect, and hence reflect the same worldview, resulted in descriptions of the pneumatology of the sect, largely based on the *Rule of the Community* and the *Hodayot*. Or, otherwise, specific scrolls passages were selected to illustrate aspects of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament.

From the beginning of scholarship, an understanding of the phrase “holy spirit” in the scrolls was problematic, largely because of the ambiguity of phrases in the *Rule of the Community*. For example, in his dissertation on the meaning of רִיחַ, “spirit,” in the then published scrolls, Arthur Sekki pointed out that a majority of scholars understands “holy spirit” in 1QS 4:21 as referring to the Spirit of God, whereas a minority regarded it as a sanctified human disposition.<sup>3</sup> One of the problems of Sekki’s own work is that he imported clearly-defined categories of different kinds of “spirit” from the Hebrew Bible, and tried to classify each occurrence of “spirit” in the scrolls into one of those categories. Sekki’s approach did show, however, that one cannot simply look at the occurrence of set phrases such as “holy spirit,” but has to examine the occurrences of the term through a broader study of the different conceptualizations of “spirit.” In a more recent, and hitherto most comprehensive study of “holy spirit at Qumran,” Emile Puech did not primarily focus on the term “holy spirit,” but instead reconstructed on the basis of the published texts a concept of holy spirit at Qumran—whether or not indicated by the phrase “holy spirit.”<sup>4</sup> Puech is cautious in his readings and conclusions, and shows a thorough insight, but his project also suffers from some limitations. His study of holy spirit at Qumran acknowledges that in different passages other aspects of the concept might be emphasized. However, he does not entertain the possibility that different texts (or even sections of texts, as in the *Rule of the Community*) might reflect variant con-

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<sup>3</sup>Arthur Everett Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruah at Qumran* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1989), 207.

<sup>4</sup>Emile Puech, “L’Esprit saint à Qumrân,” *Liber Annuus* 49 (1999): 283-98, including (291-96) a “Dossier qumranien sur l’esprit saint” with a translation of key passages.

ceptualizations. Second, by limiting his short paper to one concept or category, there is little attention for its place within a larger system of concepts. In more recent times, these two limitations characterize in general many studies of holy spirit (or spirit in general) in the scrolls, as well as, more generally, comparisons between the Dead Sea scrolls and the New Testament.

For a long time the scrolls have been regarded as a by and large homogeneous collection of works authored or copied by a sect. However, in the past decades of scrolls scholarship this view has been widely questioned. Whether or not the manuscripts were copied and collected by one and the same group (or related groups), many texts do betray different halakhic and theological opinions, and cannot be regarded as expressing the same views anymore than, for example, Luke and John. Different perspectives even can be found in the core group of so-called “sectarian” texts which most scholars still attribute to the community or *Yahad* which is described in the *Rule of the Community*. Differences between the texts may be attributed to different provenance, or diachronic developments within one and the same group, but also might be related to the different genre and rhetorics of texts.<sup>5</sup>

More recent approaches, nurtured by various kinds of linguistic and psychological theory, such as cognitive semantics, do not zoom in on one specific category, but rather opt for a systemic approach. For example, in the case of holy spirit the matter is not reduced to the theological question about the relation of God’s holy spirit to God himself, but is approached within a much larger network about concepts of good and evil, or with respect to different indigenous explanations of influences on the human person. At the same time, such an approach would also encompass a study of other references to spirit which in a categorizing approach might be omitted. A good and recent example is Carol Newsom’s work where she interprets the *Hodayot*’s views on spirit from the perspective of theory on indigenous psychology.<sup>6</sup>

Methodologically, an inquiry into the possible religio-historical origins of the Early Christian concept of the Holy Spirit would need to look not only at a correspondence of terms and of concepts, but also to compare the position of “spirit” within the different systems. In the case of the Dead Sea scrolls and the New Testament or Early Christianity, one does not have homogeneous collections, and differences between texts within these collections should be taken into account. With respect to the comparison of those corpora, one should pay special attention to how both collections have interpreted, adopted, and developed passages from authoritative texts.

## 2. Terms and Categories

### Holy and Other Spirits

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<sup>5</sup>Cf., e.g. Miryam T. Brand, *Evil Within and Without: The Source of Sin as Portrayed in Second Temple Literature* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), who argues both for diachronic developments, and for differences due to genres of texts.

<sup>6</sup>Carol A. Newsom, “Flesh, Spirit, and the Indigenous Psychology of the *Hodayot*,” in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday* (ed. Jeremy Penner, Ken M. Penner, and Cecilia Wassen; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 339–54

This contribution will only deal with those Dead Sea scrolls that are commonly, though anachronistically, called nonbiblical. The so-called biblical manuscripts, which contain a text that is close to that of the tradited forms of the Hebrew Bible, do not display, with respect to the topic of this enquiry, any major differences vis-à-vis the Masoretic text.

Statistically,<sup>7</sup> the noun רוּחַ, “spirit,” seems to be used more often in the nonbiblical scrolls (512x) than in the Hebrew Bible (389x) or in the biblical scrolls (129x).<sup>8</sup> Yet, more telling are variations with regard to collocations between the Hebrew Bible and the scrolls. For example, the Hebrew Bible has twenty-six cases of רוּחַ יְהוָה, “spirit of the Lord,” and sixteen of רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים, “spirit (wind) of God.”<sup>9</sup> In the nonbiblical scrolls, however, this collocation is only preserved twice or thrice (partially) in the case of biblical quotations.<sup>10</sup> In contrast, the phrase “holy spirit,” which is used only three times in the Hebrew Bible (Isa 63:10-11; Ps 51:13[E 11]) is found more than thirty times as רוּחַ קֹדֶשׁ, with or without following suffix, in the scrolls. Even more striking is the difference with respect to the plurals of רוּחַ. In the Hebrew Bible the plural of רוּחַ is found only fourteen times, including a few references to the four winds. In the scrolls, however, the plural is attested more than one hundred forty times. About half of the times, the scrolls use in construct a masculine plural form, a form which is not attested in Biblical Hebrew. Differences are also found with other collocations. The Hebrew Bible uses thrice רוּחַ חֲכָמָה, “spirit of wisdom” (Exod 28:3; Deut 34:9; Isa 11:2) and once רוּחַ דַּעַת, “spirit of knowledge” (Isa 11:2). The scrolls, however, which repeatedly quote or allude to Isa 11:2, never use “spirit of wisdom,” but in stead five times “spirit of knowledge,” and six times רוּחַ בִּינָה, “spirit of insight.” Such differences show that one should not merely contrast the rare use of “holy spirit” in the Hebrew Bible to the much more frequent use in the scrolls (and still more in the New Testament), but take a more comprehensive view.

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<sup>7</sup>Statistical research of the occurrence of words and expressions in the Dead Sea Scrolls is complicated by different factors which may result in distortions. First, all statistical conclusions can only be relative, since they are based on fragmentary materials. Second, in many cases in the Scrolls words are badly legible, or partially, and even entirely reconstructed. In such cases, scholars tend to read or to reconstruct the most commonly attested phrases that are compatible with the material remnants. Thirdly, search programs, like Accordance, and concordances present occurrences in manuscripts, not in compositions. In the case of clear overlaps, double countings can be corrected. An example from the biblical scrolls may illustrate the distortion. In the Hebrew Bible the name Jerusalem is found 669 times (81%), and Zion 159 times (21%). However, if one uses the Accordance Qumran Biblical Texts module, ignoring words inside brackets, one finds 122 hits of Jerusalem (56%), and 97 hits of Zion (44%). This is not due to an increase of popularity of the name Zion in the scrolls, but to the fact that the name Zion is attested most often in Isaiah and Psalms, scrolls which are better preserved and attested in larger numbers than, for example, Jeremiah which in the MT has many more references to Jerusalem. Even if we would correct for overlaps of Isaiah manuscripts, the figures would remain distorted, because all of Isaiah, but very little of Jeremiah remains.

<sup>8</sup>All searches have been made with Accordance modules. Slight corrections might be made, for example by considering the so-called *Reworked Pentateuch* manuscripts to be biblical rather than nonbiblical.

<sup>9</sup>The latter includes four cases (1 Sam 16:15-16, 23; 18:10) of an evil spirit from God.

<sup>10</sup>4Q161 8-10 11 cites Isa 11:2; 4Q223-224 2 v 28 = *Jub.* 40:5 uses Gen 41:38. 4Q511 30 6 רוּחַ] אֱלֹהִים might paraphrase Isa 40:13, but note that אֱלֹהִים is reconstructed by the editor, and absolutely not certain.

In the Hebrew-language nonbiblical scrolls we find the terms רוח קודש,<sup>11</sup> “spirit of holiness,” or “holy spirit”; רוח קודש with a suffix attached to קודש, “your/his/their holy spirit”; רוח הקודש, “the holy spirit”; רוח קדושה, “holy spirit”; רוחות קודש and רוחי קודש, “spirits of holiness” or “holy spirits”; רוח(ים)/רוחות קודש קודשים, “spirit(s) of holiest holiness” or “most holy spirit(s).” The Cairo Genizah *Damascus Document* twice has רוח קדשי with suffix.<sup>12</sup> It may be noted that the Rabbinic Hebrew phrase רוח הקדש occurs only once, and that the phrase \*הרוח הקדושה (a retroversion from the Greek or English) is not attested. In the phrase רוח קדושה, the latter term may be the feminine adjective, or alternatively the noun “holiness,” which is not attested elsewhere in the scrolls. In the Aramaic scrolls, no corresponding term has been preserved, though רוח קודשא, the term used often in the Targums, has been reconstructed in 4Q213a (*Aramaic Levi Document*) on the basis of the Greek corresponding text which reads τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἁγιόν. The few Greek fragments from the caves at and near Qumran preserve only one occurrence of spirit, in 7Q4, which Muro identified as preserving parts of 1 Enoch 103:4, where, however, it refers to the “spirits” of human beings.<sup>13</sup>

The collocation רוח קדש (with or without suffix) is the most common one attested in the scrolls. Yet, in the scrolls collection, we find many other collocations of “spirit” in construct with nouns. Many of those are construct phrases in which singular spirit is followed by a noun expressing some kind of facility, disposition, or behaviour, or something that affects people, either positively, or negatively. See, for example, רוח עצה, “spirit of counsel”; רוח ענוה, “spirit of modesty”; רוח יושר וענוה, “spirit of uprightness and modesty”; רוח דעת, “spirit of knowledge”; רוח בינה, “spirit of insight”; רוח אמת, “spirit of truth”; רוח קנאה, “spirit of zeal”; רוח ישועות, “spirit of salvation”; רוח אמונה, “spirit of faithfulness”; רוח הסתר, “spirit of concealment”;<sup>14</sup> רוח עולה, “spirit of evil”; רוח רשע, “spirit of wickedness”; רוח זנות, “spirit of fornication”; רוח עושים, “spirit of confusion” or “whirling wind”; רוח חוות, “spirit of destruction”; רוח תופלה, “spirit of insolence”; רוח בוז, “spirit of contempt”; רוח בשר, “spirit of flesh”; רוח אנוש and רוח אדם, “spirit of mankind.” Much less common are constructions where the noun is preceded with the article, such as רוח התועה, “spirit of error,” and רוח החיים, “spirit of life.” Some of the same construct phrases are also attested with the plural noun spirits, e.g., רוחי אמת, “spirits of truth”; רוחות עולה, “spirits of evil”; רוחות רשעה, “spirits of wickedness.” However, there are also phrases which are only attested in the plural, e.g., רוחות בליעל, “spirits of Belial”; רוחות גורלו, “spirits of his lot”; רוחות אלהים and רוחי אלהים, “divine spirits”; רוחי חבל, “spirits of destruction”; רוחות ממזרים, “spirits of the bastards.” In addition one may add some construct phrases which one would normally translate with terms like breath or

<sup>11</sup>The word קדש (*qodesh*) is spelled only once fully as קודש in the Masoretic Text (Dan 11:30). However, in most nonbiblical Dead Sea Scrolls it is spelled as קודש, the spelling which we will use here, though some scrolls do write קדש.

<sup>12</sup>Note that 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> also reads רוח קודשי (in Isa 63:10).

<sup>13</sup>Ernest A. Muro Jr., “The Greek Fragments of Enoch from Qumran Cave 7,” *RevQ* 18/70 (1997): 307-12.

<sup>14</sup>I take הסתר as an infinitive *hiphil* or verbal noun, with Eduard Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran: Hebräisch und Deutsch* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1971), 34, rather than the article with the noun סתר as parsed in the Accordance module.

wind, such as רוחות השמים, “winds of heaven.” With adjectives one finds, for example, רוח חדשה, “new spirit”; רוח רעה and רוח באישה, “evil spirit”; רוח קשיטה וטבה, “an upright and good spirit”; רוח טמאה, “unclean spirit.” Some of the terms are found in, and probably taken from, Hebrew Bible texts, such as “spirit of zeal” or “spirit of confusion.”

Artur Sekki studied in the 1980s, on the basis of the then known texts, to what extent the absence or presence of the article, the kind of genitival relationships, and morphological as well as syntactical gender, reflect the author’s (or scribe’s) intended meaning or understanding of “spirit,” as belong to one of five different “biblical” categories: references to God’s spirit, to man’s spirit, to angelic or demonic beings, to wind, or to breath. He certainly observed generally tendencies, as well as exceptions. For example, singular רוח preceded by the article, is used for “wind.” In the one exception, משיח הרוח, “the anointed of spirit,” the article would be used to define the entire clause.<sup>15</sup> Likewise, he observed the overall trend that if רוח is construed syntactically as masculine, it refers to an angel, or demon, whereas רוח treated syntactically as feminine refers to God’s spirit or man’s spirit. There is indeed such a regularity, which could be of help for understanding the conceptualizations of the texts. For example, 1QS 4:23 עד הנה יריבו רוחי אמת ועול בלבב גבר then should be understood as “Until now the *angels* of truth and injustice struggle in the hearts of men.” And, in fact, Sekki’s categorizations are in part warranted on the basis of synonymous expressions. For example, מלאכי חבל, “angels of destruction” are associated closely with spirits, both in juxtaposition, as in “all the spirits of his lot, angels of destruction” (1QM 13:11-12), and one also finds the synonym רוחי חבל, “spirits of destruction.” However, a large problem resides in Sekki’s categorizations, which becomes clear in the repeated discussions whether a text refers to God’s spirit or to a man’s spirit, but with little clarification on how the texts conceptualized “spirit.” And the category of “man’s spirit” encompasses the use of “spirit” to refer to human beings, the reference to “spirit” as the life-giving force, and “spirit” as a “human disposition.”<sup>16</sup> One might contrast Sekki’s so-called “biblical” categories to those of Iranologists, who describe three indistinguishable categories of “spirit” in Zoroastrian literature, namely as “spiritual beings,” the value they embody, and their human affects.<sup>17</sup> The latter conceptualization is part of the system of Zoroastrian thought, and is incongruent with the seemingly sharper ontological conceptualizations found in the biblical and early Jewish texts. Yet, heuristically, this alternative conceptualization may be helpful to understand a range of scrolls where there seems to be no clear distinction between “spiritual beings,” virtues and vices, and the corresponding effects on or dispositions of human beings. This conceptualization might also explain why terms like “uprightness,” “modesty,” “truth,” “insight,” or “knowl-

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<sup>15</sup>Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruah at Qumran*, 92.

<sup>16</sup>Sekki, *ibid.*, 95 n. 1 refers to BDB 921 which lists six basic categories for the human spirit, but he does not elaborate on these.

<sup>17</sup>Thus the descriptive terms of Albert de Jong, “Iranian Connections in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 479-500 at 494. Shaul Shaked, “The Notions *mēnōg* and *gētīg* in the Pahlavi Texts and their Relation to Eschatology,” *Acta Orientalia* 33 (1971): 59-107 at 83 and *idem*, “Qumran and Iran: further considerations,” *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972): 433-46 uses different but corresponding terms: divine beings (angels or demons), metaphysical entities, and psychological faculties.

edge,” can be used both in connection to “spirits,” and independently, apparently without a change of meaning.

The aim of this paper is not to develop new categories that would be better fitting for the scrolls evidence, but to present those Dead Sea scrolls texts that might be of interest to the question about the historical origins of the early Christian conception of the Holy Spirit. The selection of texts presented here does not include all references to “spirit” in the scrolls, but nonetheless takes a broad approach, including all texts which combine the terms “spirit,” and “holiness,” and many other texts as well.

### 3. Texts and Comments

The materials here are not presented according to terminology, or to concept or category, but arranged according to composition. Some texts will receive more comments than others, and overall conclusions will follow at the end of this paper.

#### 3.1. Rule of the Community (1QS and 4QS manuscripts)<sup>18</sup>

The Qumran Cave 1 manuscript of the *Serekh ha-Yahad* or *Rule of the Community* (1QS) has long been seen as the central text of a community that was supposed to have settled at Qumran and sometimes is identified with the Essenes. The 1QS text, however, is a collection of different parts, some of which have not been included in other *Rule of the Community* manuscripts, and which may reflect a different provenance. Also, the publication of cave 4 materials made clear that there were different literary editions of parts of this work, and that not all scrolls reflect one and the same world view.<sup>19</sup> The following sections have been discussed extensively since the 1950s, and to some extent they give insight into ideas that are also found in other texts. Yet, contrary to earlier scholarship, one should not single out these texts to represent the pneumatology of the community or of the scrolls.

##### 3.1.1. 1QS 3:6-9 (in the so-called *Covenant Renewal Ceremony*)

כִּיא בְרוּחַ עֲצַת אֱמֶת אֵל דְּרַכִּי אִישׁ יִכּוּפְרוּ כּוֹל עֲוֹנוֹתָיו לְהִבִּיט בְּאוֹר חַיִּים  
וּבְרוּחַ קְדוּשָׁה לִיחָד בְּאֵמָתוֹ יִטְהַר מִכּוֹל עֲוֹנוֹתָיו  
וּבְרוּחַ יוֹשֶׁר וְעֵנוּה תִּכּוּפֵר חֵט(א)תּוֹ  
וּבְעֵנוֹת נַפְשׁוֹ לְכוֹל חֹקֵי אֵל יִטְהַר בְּשָׂרוֹ לְהִזּוֹת בְּמִי נָדָה וּלְהִתְקַדֵּשׁ בְּמִי דּוֹכִי

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<sup>18</sup>Translations of sections from the *Rule of the Community* are adapted, sometimes with minor changes, from Michael Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

<sup>19</sup>1QS and its relation to the 4QS manuscripts has been extensively studied. Sarianna Metso, *The Serekh Texts* (London: T&T Clark, 2007) presents useful introduction and companion, while Charlotte Hempel, *The Qumran Rule Texts in Context: Collected Studies* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013) presents cutting edge research from the past decade.

For it is through a *spirit of true counsel* with regard to<sup>20</sup> the ways of man that all his iniquities shall be atoned so that he may look on the light of life.

It is through a *spirit of holiness* uniting him to his truth that he shall be purified from all his iniquities.

It is through a *spirit of uprightness and modesty* that his sin shall be wiped out.

It is through submitting himself to all the statutes of God that his flesh shall be purified, by being sprinkled with waters for purification and made holy by waters for cleansing.

The text is part of a much-discussed section describing a covenant renewal ceremony, which a few lines earlier emphasized that a person who does not convert cannot be purified, either by acts of atonement, or by water of purification, or, for that matter, by any water of absolution. Instead, the text continues, taking up the language of purity and impurity, with the words: “Unclean, unclean, shall he be as long as he rejects the precepts of God.” The section in 1QS 3:6-9 presents the contrast, namely that repentance is requisite for purification. Repentance, and the corresponding behaviour, is described in three different ways, each including reference to a spirit, and to purification from iniquities. The fourth clause might seem to run parallel to the previous ones. However, it probably makes more sense to read it as a conclusion: only after purification from iniquities, can one’s flesh be purified by purificatory waters. The section as a whole reflects a development in the thinking about the relation between sins and impurity, and repentance and purification. The text adopts language from Leviticus, but expands the notion of impurity to cover sinfulness in general.<sup>21</sup>

The text of 1QS 3 uses the rare collocation רוח קדושה, generally taken to be the noun with qualifying adjective, “holy spirit,” even though this is usually expressed by רוח קודש, “spirit of holiness.” Alternatively, one might read the noun קדושה, “holiness.” Another *Rule of the Community* manuscript, 4Q255 2 1, has a textual variant, and reads רוח קודשו, “his holy spirit.” These two variants, together with the question whether the following יחד in ליחד is taken as a verb or noun, result in many different options leading to different translations, but also different understandings of “holy spirit” here. In Knibb’s translation of 1QS, given above, which takes יחד as a verb, the term “spirit” in all three clauses refers to the disposition of an individual.”<sup>22</sup> However, if one takes יחד to

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<sup>20</sup>Taking ל to be the preposition. Similarly A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning* (London: SCM, 1966), 137, 142. However, one might also consider ל to be the noun “God,” resulting in translations like “For it is by the spirit of God’s true council that the ways of man, all his sins are atoned” (P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline* [Leiden: Brill, 1957], 24); “If the ways of man are in the spirit of the council of God’s truth, then all his sins are atoned” (Adam Simon van der Woude, *De Rollen van de Dode Zee*, multiple editions; my translation from Dutch); “Denn durch den Geist des wahrhaftigen Rates Gottes werden die Wegen eines Mannes entsühnt, alle seine Sünden” (Eduard Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran: Hebräisch und Deutsch* [Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1971], 11).

<sup>21</sup>See, e.g., the treatment in Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 75-79.

<sup>22</sup>Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 92-93. Likewise, Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1997), 101, and Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 5. Somewhat differently: Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning*, 137 (“and in



be the noun, one translates “It is through the holy spirit of the community (based) in truth,” which would present a or the holy spirit as a force working in the community.<sup>23</sup> The 4Q255 variant can be translated as “And it is by his holy spirit (belonging) to the Community,”<sup>24</sup> which then sees the spirit as God’s spirit, which he entrusted to the community (cf. also Isa 63:11). Philologically, the problem resides not only in the textual variants and in the ambiguity of יחד as verb or noun, but more generally in the peculiar syntax and style of the first sections of the *Rule*.<sup>25</sup>

Whereas often scrolls passages on the holy spirit are read backwards coming from the New Testament, in this case a backwards reading from the Mishna may be of some interest. *Mishna Sota* 9:15 lists the famous stages of holiness of the ascetic Rabbi Pinhas ben Yair, “Heedfulness leads to cleanliness, cleanliness leads to cleanness, cleanness leads to abstinence, abstinence leads to holiness, holiness (קדושה) leads to modesty (ענווה), modesty leads to the fear of sin, the fear of sin leads to piety, piety leads to the Holy Spirit,<sup>26</sup> the Holy Spirit leads to the resurrection of the dead, and the resurrection of the dead comes through Elijah, blessed be his memory” (trans. Neusner). If, instead of the adjective קדושה, “holy,” we read the noun קדושה, “holiness,” then both texts juxtapose “holiness” and “modesty.” Moreover, both texts relate to individual personal piety, and connect the language of ritual purity with that of piety.

### 3.1.2. 1QS 3:18-26 (*Two Spirits Treatise*)<sup>27</sup>

והוא ברא אנוש לממשלת תבל וישם לו שתי רוחות להתהלך בם עד מועד פקודתו  
הנה רוחות האמת והעול  
במעין אור תולדות האמת וממקור חושך תולדות העול  
ביד שר אורים ממשלת כול בני צדק בדרכי אור יתהלכו  
וביד מלאך חושך כול ממשלת בני עול ובדרכי חושך יתהלכו  
ובמלאך חושך תעות כול בני צדק וכול חטאתם ועונותם ואשמתם ופשעי מעשיהם בממשלתו לפי רזי אל עד  
קצו  
וכול נגיעיהם ומועדי צרותם בממשלת משטמתו וכול רוחי גורלו להכשיל בני אור  
ואל ישראל ומלאך אמתו עזר לכול בני אור  
והוא ברא רוחות אור וחושך ועליהן יסד כול מעשה

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a holy spirit of being united with his truth”).

<sup>23</sup>See the translation of Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran: Hebräisch und Deutsch*, 11, or the Dutch translation by van der Woude in *De Rollen van de Dode Zee*. Similarly, Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline*, 24.

<sup>24</sup>Philip S. Alexander and Geza Vermes, *Serekh ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts* (DJD 26; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 34.

<sup>25</sup>On which see the comments of Carol A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 80-81.

<sup>26</sup>Rabbi Pinhas’ reference to the holy spirit as a scale which can be achieved by individuals is somewhat idiosyncratic in Rabbinic literature. Cf. Peter Schäfer, *Die Vorstellung vom Heiligen Geist in der Rabbinischen Literatur* (München: Kösel, 1972), 118-21.

<sup>27</sup>Recent work on the *Two Spirits Treatise* includes several articles in Géza G. Xeravits, ed., *Dualism in Qumran* (London: T&T Clark, 2010) and Mladen Popović, “Anthropology, Pneumatology, and Demonology in Early Judaism: The Two Spirits 1QS 3:13-4:26) and Other Texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in ‘And God Breathed into Man the Breath of Life’ - *Dust of the Ground and Breath of Life* (Gen 2.7) (ed. Jacques van Ruiten and George van Kooten; Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

He created man to rule the world, and he assigned *two spirits* to him that he might walk by them until the appointed time of his visitation;

they are *the spirits of truth and of injustice*.

From a spring of light come the generations of truth, and from a well of darkness the generations of injustice.

Control over all the sons of righteousness lies in the hand of the prince of lights, and they walk in the ways of light;

complete control over the sons of injustice lies in the hand of the angel of darkness, and they walk in the ways of darkness.

It is through the angel of darkness that all the sons of righteousness go astray, and all their sins, their iniquities, their guilt, and their deeds of transgression are under his control in the mysteries of God until his time.

All their afflictions and their times of distress are brought about by his rule of hatred, and *all the spirits of his lot* make the sons of light stumble.

But the God of Israel and *his angel of truth* help all the sons of light.

He created the *spirits of light and darkness*, and upon them he founded every deed ...

From the beginning of research the so-called *Two Spirits Treatise* (1QS 3:13-4:26), which has sometimes been described as the summary of the entire world-view of the sectarians, has led to large discussions about the dualism of the text and the nature of the spirits mentioned in it. For example, on the basis of the feminine treatment of “spirits,”<sup>28</sup> Sekki decided that the two spirits at the beginning of the quoted section (1QS 3:18) and the spirits of light and darkness at the end of the quoted section (1QS 3:25) are spiritual dispositions of man, even though “a cosmic significance is not entirely absent.” However, with a different heuristic model, one may argue that in the section as a whole, spirits sometimes seem to be cosmological figures, and sometimes metaphysical entities, or again psychological traits. Some of the tensions in the *Treatise* may be solved if one assumes that its present form consists of multiple layers, which were edited to fit into the *Rule*.

Relatively unique in the *Treatise* are the genitive constructions of “spirit” or “angel” with truth, as in “spirits of truth and of injustice” (1QS 3:18-19; 4:23), “his angel of truth” (1QS 3:24), and a/ the “spirit of truth” (1QS 4:21). Other attestations in the scrolls are 1QM 13:10 (“spirits of truth”), 4Q177 12+13 i+15 (“spirit of truth” and “his angel of truth”) and 4Q444 6 4 (“spirits of truth”).<sup>29</sup> Though it is tempting to directly equate either God’s “angel of truth” or the “spirit of truth” with the “Spirit of truth” in John (John 14:17; 15:26; 16:13), one should rather focus on the importance of the concept “truth” in texts like the *Rule of the Community*, the *Hodayot*, the Gospel of John and the Johannine epistles.

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<sup>28</sup>Cf. שתי (rather than שני) and הנה (rather than המה). The suffix in בם should then be the dual feminine, rather than plural masculine (I owe the latter idea to T. Lim’s forthcoming article on CD 4:20-21).

<sup>29</sup>All are discussed below. Note that in 4Q444 the text breaks off after “truth.”

3.1.3. 1QS 4:2-14 (*The Ways of the Two Spirits in the Two Spirits Treatise*)

2 ואלה דרכיהן בתבל להאיר בלבב איש ולישר לפניו כול דרכי צדק אמת ולפחד לבבו במשפטי אל ורוח ענוה ואורך אפים ורוב רחמים וטוב עולמים ושכל ובינה וחכמת גבורה מאמנת בכול מעשי אל ונשענת ברוב חסדו ורוח דעת בכול מחשבת מעשה וקנאת משפטי צדק ומחשבת קודש ביצר סמוך ורוב חסדים על כול בני אמת וטהרת כבוד מתעב כול גלולי נדה והצנע לכת בערמת כול וחבא לאמת רזי דעת אלה סודי רוח לבני אמת תבל

...

9 ולרוח עולה רחוב נפש ושפול ידיים בעבודת צדק רשע ושקר גוה ורום לבב כחש ורמיה אכזרי ורוב חנף קצור אפים ורוב אולת וקנאת זדון מעשי תועבה ברוח זנות ודרכי נדה בעבודת טמאה ולשון גדופים עורון עינים וכבוד אוזן קושי עורף וכבוד לב ללכת בכול דרכי חושך וערמת רוע

2 These are their ways in the world: to enlighten the heart of man, to make level before him all the ways of righteousness and of truth, and to instil in his heart reverence for the precepts of God, a *spirit of modesty*, patience, abundant compassion, eternal goodness, insight, understanding, strong wisdom which trust in all the deeds of God and relies on the abundance of his kindness, a *spirit of knowledge* with regard to every plan of action, zeal for the precepts of righteousness, a holy purpose with a constant mind, abundant kindness towards all the sons of truth, a glorious purity which loathes all the impure idols, circumspection linked to discernment in all things, and concealment of the truth of the mysteries of knowledge. These are the counsels of the *spirit* (sc. of truth) for the sons of truth in the world.

...

9 To the *spirit of injustice* belong greed, slackness in the service of righteousness, wickedness and falsehood, pride and haughtiness, lying and deceit, cruelty and great hypocrisy, impatience and abundant folly, zeal for insolence, abominable deeds committed in a *spirit of lust*, impure ways in the service of uncleanness, a blaspheming tongue, blind eyes, a deaf ear, a stiff neck, a stubborn heart causing a man to walk in all the ways of darkness, and an evil cunning.

This famous section, sometimes referred to as “the ways of the two spirits,” lists the ways or actions of both spirits, of truth and injustice, as well as (not printed above) the reward and punishment for those who walk in these. Fragmentary evidence from other manuscripts indicates that there were variant forms of or readings in this section.<sup>30</sup> On the spirits of truth and injustice see the preceding quotation, of 1QS 3:18-26. Of some possible interest is that a few of the ways or actions, which might also be called virtues and vices, themselves use the term “spirit,” namely “spirit of modesty,” “spirit of knowledge,” and “spirit of lust.” This might be a redundant reference to disposition, just as several of the other phrases are elsewhere also constructed with “spirit,” such as “spirit of zeal,” “spirit of a stiff neck.” Likewise, the variant edition of 1Q29a seems to refer to a “spirit of folly” (רוח אולת) as a variant of 1QS “abundant folly” (רוב אולת).

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<sup>30</sup>Eibert Tigchelaar, “These are the names of the spirits of ...”: A Preliminary Edition of 4QCatalogue of Spirits (4Q230) and New Manuscript Evidence for the Two Spirits Treatise (4Q257 and 1Q29a), *RevQ* 21/84 (2004): 529-47.

It might, however, also be wondered to what extent these dispositions, sometimes referred to as “spirit of,” might be identified or associated with the so-called “spirits of truth” resp. “spirits of the lot of Belial” from other texts.

#### 3.1.4. 1QS 4:20-22 (*Two Spirits Treatise*)

ואז יברר אל באמתו כול מעשי גבר  
וזקק לו מבני איש להתם כול רוח עולה מתכמי בשרו  
ולטהרו ברוח קודש מכול עלילות רשעה  
ויז עליו רוח אמת כמי נדה מכול תועבות שקר והתגולל ברוח נדה  
להבין ישרים בדעת עליון וחכמת בני שמים להשכיל תמימי דרך

Then God will purify by his truth all deeds of man  
and will refine for himself the frame of man, purging *any spirit of injustice* from the inner parts of his flesh,  
and purifying him by a *spirit of holiness* from every wicked action.  
He will sprinkle upon him a *spirit of truth* like waters to purify all the abominations of falsehood  
(in which) he has defiled himself through a *spirit of impurity*,  
so that the upright may have understanding in the knowledge of the Most High and the perfect way of insight into the wisdom of the sons of heaven.

The quoted section,<sup>31</sup> beginning with “then,” describes God’s eschatological actions after the period of judgment in terms of purification. Grammatically, there are ambiguities which affect our understanding. Does God refine for himself “some from the sons of men” (*mibbanē ʾš*), suggesting purification of an elect group, the upright? Or does he refine for himself the “frame” or “structure of man” (*mibnē ʾš*), emphasizing physical purification, as also may be indicated by the removing of every spirit of injustice from the inner parts of his flesh? Except for a few phrases at the beginning and very end, the *Two Spirits Treatise* does not use the definite article, which makes it difficult to determine whether we should translate “a” or “the” spirit of injustice, holiness, truth, and impurity.

Conceptually problematic has been the tension in the *Two Spirits Treatise* between “the spirits of truth and evil” as two opposing cosmic, ethical, or psychological principles, and the “spirit of truth” as a means of purification. At the same time, one should ask whether “spirit of holiness,” and “spirit of truth” are two largely synonymous terms, or whether they reflect to different notions. Frey emphasizes the primordial character of the “spirit of truth” in the *Two Spirits Treatise*, whereas the “spirit of holiness” is introduced only at the end, in the description of eschatological purification.

The context of this eschatological purification in the *Treatise* is different from the purification referred to in the covenant ceremony description of 1QS 3. Yet, the two texts share the asso-

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<sup>31</sup>Cf. also the recent discussions of Menahem Kister, “Body and Sin: Romans and Colossians in Light of Qumranic and Rabbinic Texts,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pauline Literature* (ed. Jean-Sébastien Rey; Leiden: Brill, 2014), 171–207, esp. 174–76, and Jörg Frey, “Paul’s View of the Spirit in the Light of Qumran,” in *ibid.*, 238–60, esp. 250–52.

caution between “purification” and “holy spirit,” also refer to other “spirits” involved in the purification process, and by and large adopt and transform the priestly terms of purification. The closeness of the two texts might indeed be attributed to the editors of the two parts of the *Rule of the Community*. Both sections, but more clearly so 1QS 4:20-22, also take up the language of Ezek 36:25-27 (see below).

The structure of this text is complex: it juxtaposes “spirit of holiness” and “spirit of truth” in two parallel stichs, but also opposes “spirit of injustice” to “spirit of truth,” and “spirit of holiness” to “spirit of impurity.” In a different way, 1QS 3:6-9 also juxtaposes “holy spirit” to other spirits, namely to “spirit of true counsel” and “spirit of uprightness and modesty.”<sup>32</sup> In both cases the literary structure of the sections suggests that the mentioned spirits have a similar nature, regardless of the fact that “spirit of holiness” is often connected to God.

In both passages, the authors’ choice for “holy spirit” is likely to have been prompted by the context of atonement of sins and purification from impurity. “Holy spirit” is not just a fixed phrase referring to God’s spirit, but in studies of the term in the scrolls, one actually would need to study the conceptualization of “holiness.”

### 3.1.5. 1QS 4:23

עד הנה יריבו רוחי אמת ועול בלבב גבר

Until now *the spirits of truth and injustice* struggle in the hearts of men.

This is one of the important passages from the *Two Spirits Treatise* which raise the questions about the conceptualisation or classification of the spirits. Because of the masculine gender (cf. יריבו) Sekki regarded these spirits of truth and injustice not as good and evil dispositions in men, but as angelic and demonic beings, which are not to be identified with the prince of light and the angel of darkness, but with “a plurality of good and evil angelic beings.”<sup>33</sup> For this interpretation, one might refer to the *Songs of the Sage* which refer to spirits which wage wars in the inner parts of the flesh and in the body of the hymnist (4Q511 48-49+51 2-4). But then, one would also want to interpret the “spirit of injustice” of 1QS 4:20 (see above) which is to be purged from the inner part of the flesh as a demon. Instead, rather than pigeonholing references in rigid (ontological) categories, one should consider other possibilities, such as a different conceptualization of spirit as both angelic or demonic being and human disposition, or the use of metaphor.

### 3.1.6. 1QS 8:15-16

לעשות ככול הנגלה עת בעת וכאשר גלו הנביאים ברוח קודשו

that they should act in accordance with all that has been revealed from time to time, and in accordance with what the prophets revealed by *his holy spirit*

<sup>32</sup>But note the textual variant mentioned earlier in 4Q255 which refers to “his holiness.”

<sup>33</sup>Sekki, 210-11.

The conceptual connection between prophets or prophecy and God's spirit is well attested in the Hebrew Bible, and a few times referenced in the Dead Sea scrolls. See CD 2:12-13 "he taught them through those anointed with his holy spirit and those who see the truth"; 4QD<sup>e</sup> (4Q270) 2 ii 14 "against those anointed with the holy spirit" (compare 4Q287 10 13); 4Q381 69 4 "to you were given by his spirit prophets to instruct and to teach you." See also *David's Compositions* (11Q5 27) which states that the Lord gave David a discerning and enlightened spirit, so that he could write psalms and songs, all of which he composed through prophecy given to him by the Most High. This is probably based on 2 Sam 23:2 "The spirit of the Lord speaks through me, his word is on my tongue."

3.1.7. 1QS 9:3-4

בהיות אלה בישראל ככול התכונים האלה  
ליסוד רוח קודש לאמת עולם  
לכפר על אשמת פשע ומעל חטאת  
ולרצון לארץ מבושר עולות ומחלבי זבח

When these come into existence in Israel in accordance with all these rules,  
to establish a/the *spirit of holiness* in eternal truth,  
to make atonement for the guilt of transgression and the unfaithfulness of sin,  
and that the land may be accepted without the flesh of burnt-offerings and without the fat  
of sacrifices -

The "when" introduction, apparently referring to the period of emergence of those who will found the community, is taken up again in line 6: "at that time, the men of the community shall separate themselves as a holy house for Aaron, that they may be united as a holy of holies, and as a house of community for Israel, for those who walk in perfection." But how does the "spirit of holiness" fit in the section? One option (as presented in the layout and presentation above) is that it is the first of a series of aims of those who will found the community. We may then paraphrase "to establish a spirit of holiness" by "to bring about a new disposition." The presence of a holy spirit is requisite for atonement. The other option, suggested in Knibb's translation "in accordance with all these rules as a foundation of the spirit of holiness in eternal truth," regards "the foundation (i.e., establishment) of the spirit of holiness" as a reference to the community itself, which then is to make expiation.

### 3.2. Rule of the Blessings (1QSb = 1Q28b)

3.2.1. 1QSb (1Q28b) 2:24

יחונכה ברוח קודש וחסד

May he favour you with a *holy spirit* and kind[ness]

The quoted phrase is part of the blessing of the high priest, which several times elaborates on “may he favour you” (cf. Num 6:25). For the collocation “favour someone with a spirit” see below 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:36. Both here and in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:26-27 the favouring with a spirit is connected with kindness (חסד).

### 3.2.2. 1QSb 5:25-26

יתן [לכה רוח עצ]ה וגבורת עולם רוח דעת ויראת אל והיה צדק אזור [מותניכה ואמונה]ה אזור חלציכה

He will give [you a *spirit of counse*]l and eternal might, a *spirit of knowledge and the fear of God* (cf. Isa 11:2b). And righteousness shall be the belt [around your waist, and faithfulness]ss the belt around your loins (cf. Isa 11:5).

The quoted phrase is part of the blessing of the Prince of the Congregation (1QSb 5:20 till end), who in several Dead Sea scrolls is described in terms of Isa 11. Note that except for the quotation of the entire verse Isa 11:2 in 4Q161, all other texts avoid the phrase רוח חכמה, “spirit of wisdom,” in accordance with the semantic shift of חכמה, “wisdom,” in most texts of the Dead Sea scrolls collection. See below for a survey of the use of Isa 11

### 3.2.3. 1QSb 1:1-2

דברי ברכ[ה] למשכיל לברך את ירא[י אל עושי] רצונו שומרי מצוותיו ומחזקי בבר[י]ת קודשו והולכים תמים [בכול דרכי אמ]תו

Words of blessing for the instructor, to bless those who fear [God, do] his will, keep his commandments, and hold fast to his holy c[ovenant], and walk perfectly [in all the ways of] his [truth].

Barry Smith proposed to read “who are strengthened by his s[pirit] of holiness,” rather than “(who) hold fast to his holy c[ovenant].”<sup>34</sup> However, this is palaeographically, semantically, and grammatically very problematic.<sup>35</sup>

## 3.3. Hodayot (Thanksgiving Hymns) (1QH<sup>a</sup> and 4QH manuscripts)<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup>Barry D. Smith, “The Spirit of Holiness as Eschatological Principle of Obedience in Second-Temple Judaism,” in *Christian Beginnings and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Craig Evans and John Collins; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2006), 75-99, wants to read קודשו [רוח] מחזקי בבר[י]ת, “who are strengthened by his s[pirit] of holiness.” However, both paleographically and grammatically this is very problematic.

<sup>35</sup>Palaeographically: there is a trace before קודשו, which is compatible with the base of *taw*. Semantically: there is not example where the spirit strengthens. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:25 קודשך ברוח, “strengthening oneself through your holy spirit,” should not be understood passively, “to be strengthened through your holy spirit,” since all the verbs in the clause express the actions of the hymnist. Grammatically and orthographically, מחזקי is most likely to be a *piel*, rather than a passive *pual* or *hofal* which are not attested in Classical Hebrew, and would have been written with *waw* as mater lectionis by this scribe.

<sup>36</sup>Text and translations of the *Hodayot* are taken, sometimes with minor changes, from Hartmut Stegemann and Eileen Schuller, and translation by Carol A. Newsom, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup> with Incorporation of 1QHodayot<sup>b</sup> and 4QHodayot<sup>a,f</sup>* (DJD 40;

Within the entire collection of Dead Sea scrolls, the *Hodayot* contains most references to a holy spirit (with one exception always: “your holy spirit”). In addition, the composition also uses other spirit collocations (“spirit of understanding,” “your compassionate spirit”), as well as multiple other references to the hymnist’s spirit.<sup>37</sup> Throughout the following presented sections, some of the associations are repeated, for example that God has sprinkled his holy spirit upon, or given his spirit in the hymnist, which strengthens the hymnist, or gives him knowledge. Though some of the latter connotations also appear in other texts, they need not be specifically connected to a concept of holy spirit, but rather with God’s relationship to the hymnist.

3.3.1. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 4:29-37

[ברוך אתה אל הרחמי] מרוחות אשר נתתה בי  
ואמצאה מענה לשון לספר צדקותיך וארוך אפים [...] ומעשי ימין עוזך  
ולהודות על פשעי ראשונים ולה[תנפ]ל ולהתחנן על [...] ...  
[מעשי ונעוית לבבי כי בנדה התגוללתי  
ומסוד רמ]ה[י] צאתי ולא נלוייתי [...] ...  
כי לך אתה הצדקה ולשמך הברכה לעול[ם] [...] כצדקתך ופדה [...] תמו רשעים  
ואני הובינותי כי את אשר בחרתה ה[כינותה] דרכו ובשכל [...] תחשכהו מחטוא לך  
ול[ם] ב לו ענותו ביסוריך ובנס[וייך חזק]תה לבו [...] ...  
עבדך מחטוא לך ומכשול בכול דברי רצונך  
חזק מתנ[יו] לעמו[ד] על רוחות [...] ולה[תהלך בכול אשר אהבתה ולמאוס בכול אשר שנאתה] ולעשות הטוב  
בעיניך [...] ...  
ממ[ם] שלתם בתכמו כי רוח בשר עבדך

[Blessed are you, O God of compassio]n, on account of the *spirits* that you have given me.  
I will find a proper response, reciting your righteous acts and (your) patience [...] and the deeds of  
your strong right hand,  
and confessing the transgressions of (my) previous (deeds), and prostrating myself, and begging  
for mercy [...] ...  
my deeds and the perversity of my heart, because I have wallowed in impurity.  
But from the council of worms I have departed, and I have not joined myself to [...].  
For to you yourself belongs righteousness and to your name belongs blessing for ever [...] accord-  
ing to your righteousness, and ransom [...] ... (the) wicked.  
As for me, I understand that (for) the one whom you have chosen you determine his way, and  
through insight [...] you draw him back from sinning against you.

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Oxford: Clarendon, 2010). This new edition has a new, authoritative, numbering of columns and lines that is different from the old one by Sukenik. For an easy access edition, see Eileen M. Schuller and Carol A. Newsom, *The Hodayot (Thanksgiving Psalms): A Study Edition of 1QH<sup>a</sup>* (Atlanta: SBL, 2012).

<sup>37</sup>For a study of spirit in the *Hodayot*, see Carol A. Newsom, “Flesh, Spirit, and the Indigenous Psychology of the *Hodayot*,” in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 339-54.



And in order to ... him his humility through your disciplines, and through your tests you have strengthened his heart [...]  
 your servant from sinning against you and from stumbling in all the matters of your will.  
 Strengthen his loins that he may stand against *spirits*, [...] and that he may walk in everything that you love and despise everything that you hate, and do what is good in your eyes [...]  
 their dominion in his inner parts; for your servant is a *spirit of flesh*.

This long quotation is the entire (but damaged) third section of a large psalm, which, according to Schuller's analysis, began close to the beginning of col. 4, and concluded with 4:40. The section should be read in the context of the entire psalm, the common topic of which is the spirit. The first and badly preserved section, in lines 12-20 (not presented above), refers either to a grammatically feminine figure which without justification affects and strikes by means of various spirits, or perhaps to spirits conceived of as grammatically feminine. For example, 4:19, "acting deceitfully with [... u]nlawfully by means of a spirit of." At least some of the phrases refer to physical affliction or diseases, such as "with afflictions of the fl[esh]." The broken text is ambiguous as to whether the spirits related to iniquities in 4:12-19 should be conceptualized as demons which afflict them, or whether these spirits are bad dispositions prompting sin and subsequent physical sufferings. The second section (4:21-28) praises God for deliverance, because of the removing of iniquities and transgressions.

The third section, quoted above, praises God for spirits that he has given to, or rather, placed in, the hymnist, and prays to God to strengthen him against spirits. Whereas the *Hodayot* generally refers to a singular spirit given to the hymnist, the plural spirits may be opposed here to the different spirits mentioned in the first section, and at the end of this sections. The spirits given by God enable the hymnist to speak the right words to God, to praise God for his deeds, and to confess his own former transgressions. In other places in the *Hodayot*, references to the spirit(s) which God has placed in the hymnist are associated with knowledge, and similar phrases sometimes replace "spirit you have place in me" by "your insight."<sup>38</sup> At the same time, the section still acknowledges the dominion that evil spirits have over the inner parts of the hymnist. In the final clause of the third section acknowledges that he is a spirit of flesh, as an explanation for his being subject to the dominion of evil spirits, and his need for strength.

This psalm as a whole, and this section in particular, shows a series of themes that are also found in other texts. Repeatedly in the *Hodayot* the hymnist thanks God for placing a spirit in him, and virtually each time this is followed by a description of the enablement by the spirit. The plurality of both positive and negative spirits might be compared to the *Two Spirits Treatise's* listing of virtues and vices, some of which are explicitly called "spirit." At the same time, the evil spirits here might be compared to the so-called *Catalogue of Spirits* (4Q230) which includes a "spirit of inso-

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<sup>38</sup>Newsom renders the phrase **בִּי רוּחַ אֲשֶׁר נָתַתָּה** differently: twice "the spirit that you have given me," and twice "the spirit that you have placed in me." For the collocation **נָתַן רוּחַ בְּ**, cf. Ezek 37:6. Compare this phrase **וְאֲנִי יָדַעְתִּי בְרוּחַ אֲשֶׁר נָתַתָּה בִּי** with the phrase **וְאֲנִי יָדַעְתִּי בְּ/מִבִּינְתְּךָ**, "And I know by means of your knowledge" (1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:23; 7:25; cf. also 9:23 and 1QM 10:16).

3.3.2. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 4:38

### 3.3.3. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:30-33, 35-36

- 18 -

In the mysteries of your understanding you apportioned all these in order to make known your glory.

[But how is] a *spirit of flesh* to understand these things and to discern [...] great?

What is one born of woman among all your great fearful acts?

He is a thing constructed of dust and kneaded with water. Sinful guilt is his foundation, obscene shame, and a source of impurity. And a *perverted spirit* rules him.

And I, your servant, know by means of the *spirit* that you have given me [ ] and all your deeds are righteousness

This small section, taken from a larger psalm (according to Schuller either 5:12-6:33, or 5:12-6:18) for an Instructor (למשכיל) presents themes which are more broadly attested in the *Hodayot*. The text thematizes that man as a created being, a “spirit of flesh,” is impure and sinful, and that a perverted spirit rules him. The phrase “perverted spirit” is typical to the *Hodayot*, and probably refers to the human disposition to sin. Here, again, one finds the notion of spirits “ruling” or having dominion. Interestingly, this notion is used both with respect to demonic or angelic figures, and with respect to inclinations. However, the psalm does not primarily deal with sin, but with God’s eternal plans, his creation, and his revelation of “the ways of truth and the works of evil, wisdom and folly” (5:20). Man, as a spirit of flesh, cannot understand these, not discern the rules of creation, but the hymnist acknowledges that it is because of the spirit which God placed in him, that he has gained knowledge.

3.3.4. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:23-24

ואני ידעתי מבינתך כי ברצונכה בא[י] ש הרב[ית]ה נחלתו [ברוח קודשך  
וכן הגישנו לבינתך

And as for me, I know from the understanding that comes from you that through your goodwill toward a person you multi[ply his portion] in *your holy spirit*.

Thus you draw him nearer to your understanding.

These lines might belong to the conclusion of the previous psalm, or to a short psalm of its own (6:19-33), which starts with “Blessed are you, o Lord, who places understanding in the heart of your servant, so that he may have insight into all these things” (6:19-20). The partial reconstruction in the quoted phrase (6:23-24) is based on the parallel in 8:21 (see below). The cotext of the clause is dualistic (the lots are drawn for persons between good and evil), but the text mainly dwells on the fate of those whom God has drawn to him, and the degrees of one’s knowledge and portion. The concept of having a portion in God’s holy spirit is unique, but probably is related to the idea of the *Rule of the Community* that there can be increase or decrease of one’s spiritual life. Also the references to an oath pledged by the hymnist (6:28) and to the being brought into the community of all the counsel, suggest a correspondence to the *Rule of the Community*. From that perspective the lot

### 3.3.5. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:36-37

### 3.3.6. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:18, 20-32

- 20 -

... by means of *your holy spirit* which you [placed] in me ...<sup>42</sup>

And hu[mankind] is not able [to search out] *your holy spirit* [ ] the fullness of the heavens and the earth [ ] your glory, the fullness of all [the world].

And I know that by your goodwill toward a person you have multiplied his portion in your righteous deeds [ ] your truth in all [ ] and a righteous guard over your word that you have entrusted to him lest he stray [from your commandments and so as n]ot to stumble in any of his deeds.

[For] through my knowledge of all these things I will find the proper response, falling prostrate and be[gg]ing for mer]cy [continuously] on account of my transgression, and seeking a *spirit of understanding*, and strengthening myself through *your holy spirit*, and clinging to the truth of your covenant, and serving you in truth and with a perfect heart, and loving the word of your mouth.

Blessed are you, O Lord, great in counsel and mighty in deed, because all things are your works.

Now you have determined to do me great kindness, and you have favoured me with *your compassionate spirit* and for the sake of your glory.

Righteousness belongs to you alone, for you have done all these things.

Because I know that you have recorded the *spirit of the righteous*, I myself have chosen to cleanse my hands according to your will.

The soul of your servant abhors every malicious deed.

I know that no one can be righteous apart from you, and so I entreat you with *the spirit that you have placed in me* that you make your kindness to your servant complete forever, purifying me by *your holy spirit* and drawing me nearer through your goodwill, according to your great kindness which you have showed to me and causing my feet to stand in the whole station of your good favour, which you have chosen for those who love you and for those who keep your commandments that they may take their stand before you forever.

This long section from a psalm for an Instructor (7:21-8:41) is unique in referring to God's ("your") "holy spirit" four different times, and, in addition to a "spirit of understanding," God's "compassionate spirit," and generally "the spirit that you gave to me." The passage has many themes and phrases in common with both the first section given above, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 4:29-37, and other *Hodayot* passages. Where in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 4:29 it is because of the spirits placed in the hymnist, and in 8:24 due to the knowledge of all these things, that the hymnist can find a proper response, which is specified in both texts in terms of prostration, begging for mercy, and confession. It is due to the goodwill and the agency of God that a human being can turn to God, on account of which God then may draw the person nearer.

In this section, God's holy spirit might be contrasted to the perverted spirit from the beginning of the quotation. As in earlier passages seen above, God's holy spirit is juxtaposed to the purification of the heart. Yet, at the same time, God's "holy spirit" is mentioned both here and elsewhere side by side to other terms, like "your goodwill," "your kindness," or "truth of your covenant,"

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<sup>42</sup>At the beginning of this passage, the editor reconstructed "your holy spirit which your [placed] in me," clearly influenced by various other references to a spirit which God "gave to" or "placed in" (נתן) a person, but Newsom, "Flesh, Spirit, and the Indigenous Psychology," 349, notes that nowhere else this collocation is used with "holy spirit."

which cautions us not to single out a specific term as the expression par excellence of God's dealing with the hymnist. Compare, for example, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:24 (quoted above), "*through your goodwill toward a person you multi[ply his portion] in your holy spirit. Thus you draw him nearer to your understanding*" with 8:30 (quoted in this lemma), "*purifying me by your holy spirit and drawing me nearer through your goodwill*."

3.3.7. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:31-34

ואני ידעתי כי לוא לאנוש צדקה ולוא לבן אדם תום דרך  
לאל עליון כול מעשי צדקה  
ודרך אנוש לוא תכון כי אם ברוח יצר אל לו להתם דרך לבני אדם למען ידעו כול מעשיו בכוח גבורתו ורוב  
רחמיו על כול בני רצונו

But as for me, I know that righteousness does not belong to humankind nor perfection of way to a mortal.

To God Most High belong all the works of righteousness.

The way of humanity is not established except by *the spirit God has formed for it*, in order to perfect a way for mortal beings, so that they may know all his works<sup>43</sup> through his mighty strength and his abundant compassion toward all the children of his good will.

The second part of this passage "has been at the center of the debate over sectarian pneumatology almost from the beginning of Qumranian studies."<sup>44</sup> The text either has been understood in terms of Ezek 36:26 ("a new spirit I will put within you"), namely as an eschatological granting of a new disposition to God's people, or as the spirit of man given at creation (e.g., Zech 12:1). Or, on the basis of 1QS 3:6-9 one has thought that the granting of a new spirit to individuals happened at the entering to the community. Rather than searching for a specific pneumatology, the text should be read together with Jer 10:23-24 ("I know, O Lord, that the way of a person does not belong to himself, nor does it belong to a man when he walks to direct their steps. Correct me, O Lord, but in just measure; not in your anger, or you will bring me to nothing"), 1QS 11:10-11 ("For the way of a person does not belong to himself, and humankind can not direct their steps. For justice belongs to God, and from his hand is perfection of way"), and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:25-26 ("And as for me, I know, by the understanding that come from you, that it is not through the power of flesh that an individual [may perfect] his way, nor is a person able to direct his steps. And I know that in your hand is the inclination of every spirit, and all its activity you determined before you created it"). Jeremiah's "way of a person" and "directing one's steps" is partially taken up in all three passages, but interpreted as righteous behaviour and perfection of way. Newsom, who only compared Jer 10:23 with 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:25-26, referred to the breaking up of the Jeremiah passage and its being interspersed with several

<sup>43</sup>Newsom improved on her previous translation in *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 315, where she read "so that all his creatures may know his mighty strength."

<sup>44</sup>Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruah at Qumran*, 124.

phrases.<sup>45</sup> This, however, also happens in the two other phrases, which also resemble each other in the non-Jeremianic phrases. In that sense, the two different passages of the *Hodayot*, referring to “the inclination of every spirit” (יצר כול רוח) and “the spirit God formed for it” (רוח יצר אל לו), with its two different uses of יצר as noun and verb, complement one another: the text emphasizes God as creator of a human’s inclination.

3.3.8. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:9-10

אודכה אדוני כי סמכתי בעוזכה  
ורוח קודשכה הניפותה בי בל אמוט

I thank you, O Lord, that you have sustained me by your strength,  
and that you have sprinkled *your holy spirit* upon me, so that I am not shaken.

These are the opening words of a short new psalm (15:9-28), which is characterized by an inclusio (15:10 “so that I am not shaken”; 15:28 “you set my feet on level ground”). Within the psalm, “your holy spirit” is contrasted to רוח הוות, “the spirit of destructions.” On one level, the psalm relates “destruction(s)” to the wars with the hymnist’s opponents. However, God has placed the hymnist “like a mighty tower, like a high rampart” (cf. the identical phrases in the blessing of the Prince of the Congregation in 1QSb 5:23-24). On another level, the “spirit of destructions” is characterized with respect to language, just like in other *hodayot* the spirit that God granted the hymnist. In those *hodayot* God’s spirit grants a “proper response”; in 15:14 the spirit of destructions has no speech, and the children of guilt no proper response.

3.3.9. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:12-14

ואתה [א]ל שכתה בעד פריז גבורי כוח ורוחות קודש ולהט אש מתהפכת  
בל י[בוא ז]ר במעין חיים ועם עצי עולם לא ישתה מי קודש בל ינובב פריז עם מטע שחקים

And you, O God, have hedged in its fruit by means of the mystery of strong warriors and *spirits of holiness*, and the whirling flame of fire,  
so that no stranger might come to the fountain of life, nor with the eternal trees drink the water of holiness, nor bear its fruit with the plantation of heaven.

The psalm uses paradisiacal themes, with imagery and language from both Gen 2-3 and Ezek 28. The quotation is exceptional within the *Hodayot* because of the use of “holy spirits,” in the plural. Those holy spirits and strong warriors correspond to the cherubs of Gen 3, and also in other compositions angels or other divine beings might be called holy spirits. More in general, the use of the same expressions in both singular and plural seems to entail more than only number, but also a semantic difference.

<sup>45</sup>Newsom, *The Self As Symbolic Space*, 213-15, at 214.

3.3.10. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 17:32

ובאמת נכון סמכתי וברוח קודשכה תשעשעני ועד היום [א]תה תנהלני

With sure truth you have supported me, and in *your holy spirit* you have made me rejoice, and until this day you continue to guide me.

In this quotation באמת, “with truth,” is used parallel to ברוח קודש, “with a spirit of holiness.” One may compare 1QS 4:20-21 where God purifies both “by his truth” and “by his spirit of holiness.” Though also other terms like “through his goodness,” etc. are used in similar parallelisms, there seems to be a special use of אמת, “truth,” in the scrolls, which suggests it is not merely an abstract concept, or a property of God, but also a separate entity.

3.3.11. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:14-16

ואני משכיל ידעתיכה אלי ברוח אשר נתתה בי  
ונאמנה שמעתי לסוד פלאכה  
ברוח קודשכה [פ]תחתה לתוכי דעת ברז שכלכה ומעין גבורת[כה]

And I, the Instructor, I know you, my God, by *the spirit that you have placed in me*.

Faithfully have I heeded your wondrous secret counsel.

By *your holy spirit* you have opened up knowledge within me through the mystery of your wisdom and the fountainhead of your power.

The phraseology of “placing a spirit within me” seems to be typical of the Instructor psalms.<sup>46</sup> In this quotation, the juxtaposition of “the spirit that you have placed in me” and “your holy spirit,” and the connection of both with knowledge, suggests they are synonymous, though in other texts this need not be the case.

3.3.12. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:34

[ואני י]צר העפר ידעתי ברוח אשר נתתה בי כיא]

[And as for me, a creature of dust, I know by the *spirit* that you have placed in me.

The phrase still belongs to the same psalm as the previous quote.

3.3.13. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 23:29-30, 33

ועל עפר הניפותה רוח [קודשכה ...  
... רוח ק]ודשכה הניפותה לכפר אשמה

And over the dust you have sprinkled [*your holy*] *spirit* ...

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<sup>46</sup>I thank this observation to Judith Newman (paper at the SBL 2013).



... your [*h*]oly [*spirit*] you have sprinkled in order to atone for guilt

This first quote, from a damaged section of the scroll, combines two metaphors. In the *Hodayot* in general, and in the preceding 23:24-29 “dust” refers to the material from which mankind is made. Hence “dust” is conceived as a physical being,<sup>47</sup> often used as a self-reference of the hymnist. At the same time, the image of sprinkling on dust suggests transformation. The second quote, a few lines later, once again associates God’s holy spirit with atonement.

### 3.4. War Scroll (1QM and 4QM manuscripts)

#### 3.4.1. 1QM 13:9-12

אתה [אל ב]רותנו לכה עם עולמים ובגורל אור הפלתנו לאמתכה  
ושר מאור מאז פקדתה לעוזרנו ובג[ורל כול בני צד]ק וכול רוחי אמת בממשלתו  
ואתה עשיתה בליעל לשחת מלאך משטמה  
ובחוש[ך ממשל]תו ובעצתו להרשיע ולהאשים  
וכול רוחי גורלו מלאכי חבל בחוקי חושך יתהלכו ואליו [תשו]קתמה יחד

And you, [O God,] purified us<sup>48</sup> for yourself as an eternal people, and into the lot of light you cast us for your truth.

You appointed the Prince of Light from of old to assist us, for in [his] l[ot are all sons of<sup>49</sup> right-  
eous]ness and *all spirits of truth* are in his dominion.

You yourself made Belial for the pit, the angel of malevolence, his [dominio]n is in darkne[ss] and his counsel is to condemn and convict.

All the spirits of his lot, the angels of destruction, walk in accord with the rule of darkness, for it is their only [des]ire.

The quoted section is part of a series of blessings of “the God of Israel and all his works of truth” and curses of “Belial and all the spirits of his lot” (1QM 13:1-2). The genre, the dualistic terminology, and even the specific phrasing are close to that of the *Covenant Ceremony* and the *Two Spirits Treatise* in 1QS 1-4. Specific of the 1QM text is the explicit and systematic reference to other spirits or angels who are subordinate to the two cosmic antagonistic figures of the Prince of Light and Belial. The “spirits of truth” might be angels or spirits subservient to the Prince of Light, who in turn may be the same as the the Angel of Truth of the *Two Spirits Treatise*. Alternatively, if one reads the texts from a Zoroastrian perspective, the spirits of truth may be the virtues mentioned in 1QS 4:2-8.

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<sup>47</sup>Newsom, “Flesh, Spirit, and the Indigenous Psychology,” 345.

<sup>48</sup>Following the reading of Elisha Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings Volume One* (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi, 2010), 124. Earlier proposals were to reconstruct פ[דיתנו], “you have redeemed us,” or ב[ריתנו], “you have created us,” but Qimron’s reading is superior. See also the parallel in 4Q495 2 1 ברתנו לכ[ה].

<sup>49</sup>Other reconstruction: “are the angels of.” Thus also Qimron.

Note that the asyndetic juxtaposition of “all the spirits of his lot, the angels of destruction” might suggest identification, or at least a semantic overlap.

### 3.5. Catena A // 4QMidrash on Eschatology

3.5.1. 4Q177 12+13 i+15 9-14<sup>50</sup>

ב[ליעל להאבידמה בחרונו אשר לוא יותר ל] לוא יניח לבליעל  
 אב[רהם עד עשרה צדיקים בעיר כיא רוח אמת ה] כיא אין  
 [מה ואחיהמה במחשבת בליעל ויחזק עליה]ם [...]מלאך אמתו יעזור לכול בני אור מיד בליעל  
 ידיהם] ולפזר[ם] בארץ ציה ושממה היא עת פנות המדב[ר]  
 כיא ה[תמר ידוד הצ]דיק ויד אל הגדולה עמהמה לעוזרם מכול רוחין בליעל

B]elial,<sup>51</sup> to destroy them in his anger, of whom he will not let remain [ he will not] give rest to Belial

... Ab]raham, up to ten righteous ones in the city, because *a spirit of truth* ... [ becau]se not [ ... and their brothers through the plan of Belial, and he was stronger than th[ey  
 ] *his angel of truth* will help all the sons of light from the hand of Belial [ their hands [ ] and to scatter [them] in a dry and desolate land.  
 This is the time of the heading towards the wilder[ness  
 because [ ] ... the righ[teou]s one will flee, but the mighty hand of God will be with them to help them against all the spirits [of Belial ?

The language of this fragmented text is reminiscent of *Two Spirits Treatise*, as well as 1QM 13, even up to shared phrases, such as “his angel of truth helping all the sons of light” (1QS 3:24-25). This section, however, goes beyond those texts by associating the inhabitants of Sodom (of Gen 18-19) with the “men of Belial” (esp. Judg 19 and Deut 13:14), and presenting an actualized exegesis. Unfortunately, the brokenness of the text makes it hard to decide what the “spirit of truth” refers to in this context.<sup>52</sup>

### 3.6. Damascus Document (CD, 4Q266-4Q273)

3.6.1. CD 2:12-13

<sup>50</sup>Hebrew text from Annette Steudel, *Die Texte aus Qumran II* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2001), 210, with some corrections taken from on Elisha Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings Volume Two* (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi, 2013), 294 who does not add frg. 15 but instead frg. 21.

<sup>51</sup>If one adopts Qimron's join of frg. 21, then read: “when Belial tries to destroy them” etc.

<sup>52</sup>Cf. Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, “Sodom and Gomorrah in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” Pages 47-62 in *Sodom's Sin. Genesis 18-19 and its Interpretations* (ed. Ed Noort and Eibert Tigchelaar; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 47-62, esp. 60-62 on this section, but without any discussion of the “spirit of truth”

And he taught them through those anointed with *his holy spirit* and those who see the truth.

The anointed with his holy spirit and seers of truth are probably prophets. See above, sub 1QS 8:15-16 on the connection between prophecy and God's spirit. Interestingly, the Hebrew Bible connection between anointment, spirit, and prophecy (1 Sam 16:13; Isa 61:1), has developed into a metaphor and set phrase. The expression "anointed with the/his holy spirit" is also attested in 4Q270 2 ii 11-14 and 4Q287 10 13, and "anointed of the spirit" in 11Q13 (11QMelch) 2:18.

3.6.2. CD 5:11-12

וגם את רוח קדשיהם טמאו ובלשון גדופים פתחו פה על חוקי ברית אל

Also they have defiled *their holy spirit*, and with a blaspheming tongue they have opened their mouth against the statutes of God

Because of the plural קדשיהם, Puech renders a plural "holinesses" ("esprit de saintetés"). This occurs twice in CD (see also 7:4), as well as in the 1QIsaa version of Isa 63:10 (רוח קודשיו). This quotation preserves one of several cases in the scrolls which refers to the holy spirit of human beings. In the three *Damascus Document* instances, the expression might be a reference to the self as a holy, or alternatively, it may reflect a distinction between bodily and spiritual defilement.

3.6.3. CD 7:3-4

ולהבדל מכל הטמאות כמשפטם  
ולא ישקץ איש את רוח קדשיו כאשר הבדיל אל להם

... to separate themselves from all kinds of uncleanness according to the rule about them, and for each man not to make detestable *his holy spirit* according to the separation which God made for them

Compare CD 7:3-4 ולא ישקץ איש את רוח קדשיו, "a man should not make detestable his holy spirit" with 12:11 אל ישקץ איש את נפשו, "a man should not make detestable his soul," suggesting that both cases refer to one's self.

3.6.4. 4QD<sup>e</sup> (4Q270) 2 ii 11-14

בשמותם לטמא את רוח קודשו ]  
או ינוגע בנגע צרעת או זוב טמ]אה  
[או] אשר יגלה את רז עמו לגואים או יקלל א]ת עמו  
[או ידבר] סרה על משיחי רוח הקדש ותועה ב]

...] by their names, thereby defiling *his holy spirit* [...



3.7. 11QMelchizedek (11Q13)

3.7.1. 11Q13 2:18

והמבשר הו[א]ה [משיח הרו[ח] כ]אשר אמר דנ[יאל עליו

And “the messenger” is “the anointed of spirit,” of [whom] Dan[iel spoke: ... (Dan 9:25?)

3.8. Berakhot (Blessings) (4Q286-4Q290)<sup>55</sup>

3.8.1. 4Q287 2 4-5<sup>56</sup>

[מה מלאכי אש ורוחי ענן ] זו[הר רוקמת רוחי קודש קוד[ש]ים

] ... angels of fire and spirits of cloud [ bri]ghtness of the brocaded<sup>57</sup> *spirits of the holiest holi[ness]*

The terminology, including the juxtaposition of angels and spirits, is reminiscent of that of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. See, e.g., 4Q403 1 ii 1 below.

3.8.2. 4Q287 10 13

[ה על משיחי רוח קודש] שו

] on/against the anointed ones of [his] *holy spirit* [

If this fragment belonged to the curses section of the composition, it may have been part of a curse against those who rebelled against the anointed ones. Cf. 4Q270 2 ii 14.

3.9. Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400-407, 11Q17, Mas1K)<sup>58</sup>

The sections mentioned below, as well as the *Berakhot* one given above (4Q287 2 4-5), are generally not included in lists of texts dealing with “holy spirit” or “spirit of holiness.” They are nonetheless included because of the collocation of spirit and holiness. Some cases include “spirits of holiest holiness,” but no less than four cases in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* uses the singular “spirit of holiest holiness,” which is remarkable since the composition has three times more often the plural

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<sup>55</sup>Translations are from the edition of Bilhah Nitzan in *Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (DJD 11; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).

<sup>56</sup>In the same fragment, in lines 7 and 13 the editor reconstructs [קודש]ים, resp. [קודש]ה.

<sup>57</sup>The meaning of רוקמה is disputed. An alternative translation: “the mingled color(s) of.”

<sup>58</sup>Translations, with some modifications, from the edition of Carol A. Newsom in *Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (DJD 11; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998). Further referenced as Newsom, DJD 11.

“spirits” than the singular. However, also where the text uses the singular, it does not seem to single out a specific spirit.

The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* uses multiple terms to refer to heavenly beings, most often אֱלִים, “divine beings”; אֱלֹהִים, “godlike beings”; רוחות, “spirits”; and מַלְאָכִים, “angels.” Apart from אֱלִים and אֱלֹהִים which are regularly used in absolute form, these terms are generally qualified (through a genitive construction) through other nouns.

3.9.1. 4Q403 1 i 44 // 4Q404 5 // 4Q405 6

רוחי קודש קודשים אלוהים חיים רוחי קודש עולמים ממעל [מ] כול קדו[ן] שים [פלא נפלא הוד

The *spirits*<sup>59</sup> of *holiest holiness*,<sup>60</sup> living god-like beings, *spirits* of eternal *holiness* above all the hol[yo]nes [wonder, marvelous in majesty.

3.9.2. 4Q403 1 ii 1

אורתום רוקמת רוח קודש קודשי[ם]

perfect light of a brocaded *spirit of holiest holiness*

3.9.3. 4Q403 1 ii 6-9

מבינותם ירוצו א[לו]הים כמראי גחלי[ן] אש  
מתהלך סביב רוחות קודש קודשים ◦  
קודש ק[וד]ש[ים] רוחות אלוהים מראי עו[ן] למים  
ורוחות אלוהים בדני להבת אש סביבה ל[ן]

from between them god-like beings run like the appearance of coals of [fire  
moving round about, *spirits of holiest holiness* [  
of holiest holiness, divine spirits, an eternal vision [  
and divine spirits, shapes of flaming fire round about it [

3.9.4. 4Q405 14-15 i 2 // 11Q17 4

[דמות פלא רוח קודש] ש[ן] קודשים מטל]

[wondrous likeness, a *spirit of holiest holiness*], ...[

3.9.5. 4Q405 20 ii - 22 10

כמראי אש רוחות קודש קודשים סביב מראי שבולו אש בדמות חשמל

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<sup>59</sup> 4Q404 5 1 reads the singular רוח.

<sup>60</sup> The same expression is also reconstructed elsewhere in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, e.g., 4Q405 19 2 קודש ק[וד]ש[ים] רוחי, “[most hol]y spirits.”

Like the appearance of fire are *spirits of holiest holiness* round about the appearance of streams of fire like amber.

This description (and its cotext) is clearly based on Ezek 1:27, and it seems that the Glory of God is evoked through the description of the most holy spirits.<sup>61</sup> Note also the close connection between fire and the most holy spirits in the *Shirot*.

3.9.6. 4Q405 23 ii 6-11

[רוחות קד]שי קדשים [קדשיהם  
במעמד פלאיהם רוחות רוקמה כמעשי אורג פתוחי צורות הדר  
בתוך כבוד מראי שני צבעי אור רוח קודש קדשים מחזקות מעמד קודשם לפני] מ[לך רוחי  
צבעי] טוהר [בתוך מראי חור  
ודמות רוח כבוד כמעשי אופירים מאירי] או[ר  
וכל מחשביהם ממולח טוהר חשב כמעשי אורג  
אלה ראשי לבושי פלא לשרת] [ראשי ממלכות ממלכות קדושים למלך הקודש בכול מרומי מקדשי מלכות  
כבודו

*spirits of ho[li]est holiness ...* ] their holy places.

In their wondrous stations are brocaded *spirits*, like woven work, engraved with figures of splendour.

In the midst of the glorious appearance of scarlet are (garments) dyed with the fire of a *spirit of holiest holiness*,<sup>62</sup> those who take their holy station before [ ] King, *spirits* [brightly] dyed in the midst of the appearance of whiteness.

Ant the likeness of *this glorious spirit* is like fine gold work, shedding [ ] light.

And all their designs are brightly blended, an artistry like woven work.

These are the chiefs of those wondrously arrayed for service [ ] the chiefs of the realm of the holy ones of the King of holiness in all the heights of the sanctuaries of his glorious kingdom.

3.9.7. 11Q17 9:5

הטוהר ברוח קודש קודשים?

the purity, through a *spirit* of [*holiest?*] *holi*]ness

3.10. 4QInstruction (4Q415-4Q418a, 4Q423, 1Q26)<sup>63</sup>

3.10.1. 4Q417 i 13-18 (*Vision of Hagu* or *Vision of Meditation*)

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<sup>61</sup>See, more in detail, Newsom, DJD 11:352.

<sup>62</sup>Newsom, DJD 11:362. But *ibid.*, 333: "In the midst of the glorious appearance of scarlet, the colors of most holy spiritual light"

<sup>63</sup>See now Matthew J. Goff, *4QInstruction* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013).

ואתה מבין רוש פעלתכה בזכרון הע[ת כי] בא חרות החוק וחוק כול הפקודה  
 כי חרות מחוקק לאל על כול עונות בני שית וספר זכרון כתוב לפניו לשמרי דברו  
 והואה חזון ההגות לספר זכרון  
 וינחילה לאנוש עם<sup>ט</sup> רוח כיא כתבנית קדושים יצרו  
 ועוד לוא נתן הגוי לרוח בשר  
 כי לא ידע בין [טו]ב לרע כמשפט [ר]וחו

And you, understanding one, inherit your award in remembrance of the period for it comes. Engraved is the statute and ordained is all the punishment, because engraved is that which is ordained by God against all the iniquities of the sons of Sheth. The book of remembrance is written before him for those who keep his word—that is, the vision of meditation of the book of remembrance. He bequeathed it to Adam (אנוש) together with a *spiritual people*, because according to the likeness of the holy ones he fashioned him. But no more did he give what is meditated upon to *the fleshly spirit* for it did not distinguish between [go]d and evil according to the judgment of its [*sp*]irit.<sup>64</sup>

This is one of the most difficult and disputed sections of *4QInstruction*, often referred to as the “Vision of Hagu,” which Matthew Goff argues is “intentionally enigmatic.”<sup>65</sup> In the interpretation of John Collins, which has further been elaborated upon by Goff, the text “posits two opposed types of humankind, one associated with the spirit and the other with flesh, and grounds this dichotomy in the language of Gen 1-3.”<sup>66</sup> The term “spirit” clearly has here an epistemological connotation, and the phrase “meditation of the book of remembrance” would refer to some kind of divinely revealed knowledge. According to this interpretation, the “spiritual people signify the elect ... and the fleshly spirits represents the non-elect.”<sup>67</sup> A different reading has been offered by myself, partially following Cana Werman.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>64</sup>Translation by Goff, *4QInstruction*, 139.

<sup>65</sup>*Ibid.*, 156.

<sup>66</sup>*Ibid.*, 166. It should be noted that in this latest commentary on the Vision of Hagu, Goff comes much closer to the position of Benjamin G. Wold, *Women, Men and Angels: The Qumran Wisdom Document “Musar leMevin” and Its Allusions to Genesis Creation Traditions* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 129-49 who argued for an originally single universal creation, as opposed to Collins and Goff’s earlier position of a dual creation. See also Wold’s contribution on אנוש, in *Theologisches Wörterbuch zu den Qumrantexten*, 1:241-47, esp. 244-46.

<sup>67</sup>Goff, *4QInstruction*, 168.

<sup>68</sup>Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, “‘Spiritual People,’ ‘Fleshly Spirit,’ and ‘Vision of Meditation’: Reflections on 4QInstruction and 1 Corinthians,” in *Echoes from the Caves: Qumran and the New Testament*. Edited by Florentino García Martínez. STDJ 85. Leiden: Brill, 2009), 103-18; Cana Werman, “What is the Book of Hagu?” in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. John J. Collins, Gregory E. Sterling, and Ruth A. Clements; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 125-40. I interpreted this section in the light of later differentiations between *nous*, *pneuma*, and *psyche*. My own reading is in part based on the reading of the first hand, without the addition of another עם, “people,” after עם, “with,” resulting in the phrase “and he bequeathed it (i.e., meditation or *nous*) to Adam together with spirit (i.e., *psyche*).”



3.10.2. 4Q416 2 ii 6 // 4Q418 8 6

בכל הון אל תמר רוח קודשכה כי אין מחיר שוה ]בה

Do not exchange (?) *your holy spirit* for any money, for no price is equal (in value) [to it (4Q416)]<sup>69</sup>

The cotext, apparently dealing with warnings against debt slavery, suggests that the term “your holy spirit” refers to the addressee himself. Unlike the *Damascus Document* sections that also apply the term “holy spirit” to a human person, this text does not use other terms of purity or impurity that would warrant the use of “holy” here.

3.10.2. 4Q418 76 1-3

[על כול רוח] [ואנשי צדק לוא] [ורוחי קודש]

[upon every spirit] [and the men of righteousness will not] [and the *spirits of holiness*]

This is the entire fragment. The second line originally read **ואנשי קודש לוא**, “and the men of holiness will not,” but “holiness” was corrected to “righteousness.” On material grounds, the fragment seems to belong to 4Q418, a *4QInstruction* manuscript, but textually it cannot be connected to the composition.

### 3.11. Words of the Luminaries (4Q504-4Q506)

3.11.1. 4Q504 8 recto 4-6

אדם א]בינו יצרתה בדמות כבוד]כה  
נשמת חיים נ]פחתה באפו ובינה ודעת ]נתתה לו  
בג]ן עדן אשר נטעתה המשלת]ה אותו

You fashioned [Adam] our [fa]ther in the likeness of [your] glory [A living breath] you [b]lew into his nostrils, and understanding and knowledge [you gave to him over the gard]en of Eden, which you planted, you gave [him] dominion

The fragment comes from the prayer for the first day of the week, which describes the creation of Adam. The fragment does not preserve the word “spirit,” but associates Gen 2:7 with the bestowal of insight and knowledge.

3.11.2. 4Q504 4 5 // 4Q506 131-132 11

אלה ידענו באשר חנואת]נו [רוח ק]ודשכה

<sup>69</sup>The parallel text 4Q418 א]ין קדושה כיא [תאמר רוח קדושה has two variants, which together do not seem to make much sense.

We know these things because you have graciously granted [us *your?*] *h[oly] spirit*.<sup>70</sup>

3.11.3. 4Q504 1+2 v recto 12-17

ותחון את עמכה ישראל בכול [ה] ארצות אשר הדחתם שמה  
להשיב אל לבבם לשוב ע>ו דך ולשמוע בקולכה [כ] כול אשר צויתה ביד מושה עבדכה  
[כי] א יצקתה את רוח קודשכה עלינו  
[לה] ביא ברכותיכה לנו

You have shown mercy to your people Israel in all the lands to which you have exiled them.  
placing it again on their hearts to return to you, to obey your voice according to all that you have  
commanded through your servant Moses.

Indeed, you have poured out *your holy spirit* upon us,  
bringing your blessings to us.

The last lines are dependent on Isa 44:3b “I will pour my spirit upon your descendants, and my  
blessing on your offspring,” but here the hymnist specifies that God’s spirit is his *holy spirit*.

3.12. Barkhi Nafshi (Bless My Soul) (4Q434-4Q438)

3.12.1. 4Q436 1 i 10-ii 4 // 4Q435 2 i<sup>71</sup>

[לב האבן ג] ערתה ממני / ותשם לב טהור תחתיו  
יצר רע גער [תה מן כליותי / ורוח קודש] ש שמתה בלבבי  
זנות עינים הסירותה ממני / ותבט א [ת כול דר] כיכה  
עורף קשה שלחתה ממני / ותשמו ענוה  
זעף אף הסירותה [ממני] / ותשם לי רוח ארוך אפים  
גבה לב ורום עינים התמותה ממני /  
רוח שקר אבדת [ה] / ה [לב נד] כה נתתה לי

[A heart of stone] you [re]buked away from me / and in its place you set a pure heart;  
An evil inclination [you] rebuked away [from my kidneys / and a *hol[y] [spirit]* you set in my heart;  
Adulterousness of eyes you removed from me / and it gazed on [all] your [wa]ys;  
Stiffness of neck you sent away from me / and you turned it to modesty;  
Wrathful anger you removed [from me] / and you gave me a *spirit of long-suffering*;  
Haughtiness of heart and arrogance of eyes you have purged from me;  
A *spirit of deceit* you have destroyed [ ] / and a [bro]ken heart you have given me.

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<sup>70</sup> 4Q506 has the variant רוח הקודש, “the holy spirit.”

<sup>71</sup> Largely following the reading of the Moshe Weinfeld and David Seely in *Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (DJD 29; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999). Note that Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings Volume Two*, 41 has a fair amount of different readings and reconstructions which need further assessment. For a brief treatment of this section, see also Kister, “Body and Sin, 196–99.

Like other poetical texts, this section, a thanksgiving hymn, does not use the article, so that we have to choose between “a” or “the” “evil inclination,” and “holy spirit.” Only one (!) letter remains of “holy spirit,” but given several connections between this section and Ps 51, and the available space, the reconstruction ש[רוח קוד] is plausible.<sup>72</sup> For the anthropology of the poet, one should note the association of the virtues and vices with bodily parts,<sup>73</sup> as well—if the reconstruction is correct—the contrast between “evil inclination” and “holy spirit.”<sup>74</sup>

### 3.13. 4QIncantation (4Q444)

3.13.1. 4Q444 1-4 i + 5 1-4

ואני מיראי אל בדעת אמתו פתח פי ומרוח קודשו ◦  
 ויהיו לרוחי ריב במבניתי חוק[י אל ב]תכמי בשר  
 ורוח דעת ובינה אמת וצדק שם אל בל[בבי  
 ]וה ותתחזק בחוקי אל ולהלחם ברוחי רשעה ולוא ...

And I, God's exorcist, he opened my mouth with his true knowledge; and from *his holy spirit* [and they became *spirits of conflict* in my (bodily) frame, the la[ws of God ] in the innermost parts of flesh.

and a *spirit of knowledge and understanding, truth and righteousness*, God put in [my] he[art ] it is strengthened in the laws of God, and fighting the *spirits of iniquity*. And not ...

This incantation affirms descriptions given in other texts of spirits in the body and its fleshly inner parts, suggesting that the body is the battleground (note the term “conflict”!) between good and evil spirits, whether they are understood more angelic and demonlike, or as virtues and vices. Here too, we find the association between holy spirit and true knowledge, and the assertion that it is God who has placed a spirit of knowledge in the first person's heart.

A related text, in which the term “holy spirit” is not used or preserved is the *Songs of the Sage*. Especially 4Q511 48-51 displays parallels: “for in the inner parts of my flesh is the foundation of wick[edness, and in] my body are wars, the laws of God in my heart.”

<sup>72</sup>Qimron, *ibid.*, reconstructs ש[ומחשבת קד], which also entails (because of the larger space needed for מחשבת) other reconstructions in the next lines.

<sup>73</sup>Cf. George J. Brooke, “Body Parts in *Barkhi Nafshi* and the Qualifications for Membership of the Worshipping Community,” in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran. Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Oslo 1998. Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet* (ed. Daniel K. Falk, Florentino García Martínez, and Eileen M. Schuller; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 79-94. Cf. also Kister, “Body and Sin,” *passim*.

<sup>74</sup>On “evil inclination,” cf. Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, “The Evil Inclination in the Dead Sea Scrolls, with a Re-edition of 4Q468i (4QSectorian Text?),” in *Empsychoi Logoi — Religious Innovations in Antiquity: Studies in Honour of Pieter Willem van der Horst* (ed. Alberdina Houtman, Albert de Jong, and Magda Misset-van de Weg; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 347-57, and Ishay Rosen-Zvi, *Demonic Desires: Yetzer Hara and the Problem of Evil in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), esp. 44-64 (ch. 3 *Yetzer* at Qumran: Proto-Rabbinic?).

3.13.2. 4Q444 6 4

[יד רוחי אמת]

] ... *spirits of truth* [

### 3.14. Messianic Apocalypse (4Q521)

3.14.1. 4Q521 2 ii+4 5-8, 11-13

כי אדני חסידים יבקר וצדיקים בשם יקרא  
ועל ענוים רוחו תרחף ואמונים יחליף בכחו  
כי יכבד את חסידים על כסא מלכות עד  
מתיר אסורים פוקח עורים זוקף כפ[ופים]  
ונכבדות שלוא היו יעשה אדני כאשר ד[בר]  
כי ירפא חללים ומתים יחיה ענוים יבשר  
ו[דלי]ם ישב[יע] נתושים ינהל ורעבים יעשר

For the Lord attends to the pious, and calls the righteous by name;  
His *spirit* hovers over the humble, and he renews the faithful by his strength;  
For he will honor the pious on the throne of his eternal kingdom;  
Freeing prisoners, opening (the eyes of) the blind, raising up those bow[ed down].]

And wondrous things, not done before, the Lord will do, as he s[aid]:  
For he will heal the wounded, and he will revive the dead; he will bring good news to the oppressed, and the [poor] he will sati[ate]. He will lead the uprooted, and make fat the hungry.

The phrase “his spirit hovers over the humble” takes up the language of Gen 1:2, and presents one of the very few cases where God’s spirit is the subject of a verbal clause.<sup>75</sup> However, the sequence of 4Q521, which weaves phrases from Isa 61:1 and Ps 145:14; 146:7-8, shows that the spirit of Gen 1:2 is identified with the spirit of Isa 61:1 “the spirit of the Lord God is upon me.”

### 3.15. Testament of Qahat (4Q542)

3.15.1. 4Q542 1 i 8-10

להן אחדו בממר יעקוב אבוכון ואתקפו בדיני אברהם ובצדקת לוי ודילי  
והוא קד[י]שין ודכין מן כול[ער] ברוב ואחדין בקושטא ואזלין בישראל ולא בלבב ולבב  
להן בלבב דכא וברוח קשיטה וטבה

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<sup>75</sup>The other example also involves a quotation from Genesis, namely 4Q252 1:2 “My spirit shall not dwell in man forever,” which quotes Gen 6:3 (with a ידור-ידון textual variant).

However, hold fast to the command of Jacob, your father, and stick to the ordinances of Abraham and the right rules of Levi and myself.

And be holy and pure from all [min]gling, holding fast to the truth, and going in uprightness, and not with a double heart,

but with a pure heart and a *true and good spirit*.

The “true and good spirit” clearly qualifies the required disposition of Qahat’s progeny. The Aramaic phrase has no preserved equivalent in the Hebrew texts, though the use of קשיט, “true,” might correspond either to the notion of אמת, “truth,” or to that of ישר or יושר, “upright(ness),” as in 1QS 3:8 רוח יושר, “spirit of uprightness.”

### 3.16. Cave 11 Great Psalms Scrolls

3.16.1. 11Q5 19:13-16 (from the so-called *Plea for Deliverance*)

סלחה יהוה לחטאתי וטהרני מעוני  
רוח אמונה ודעת חונני אל אתקלה בעווה  
אל תשלט בי שטן ורוח טמאה  
מכאוב ויצר רע אל ירשו בעצמי

Forgive, O Lord, my sin, and purify me from my iniquity

Favour me me *a spirit of faithfulness and knowledge*, let me not be dishonoured in ruin

Let Satan and *an impure spirit* not rule over me

Neither let pain nor evil inclination claim power over my bones.

Though the terminology of this so-called apocryphal psalm is largely different from that of most other scrolls, it shares the general idea of God favouring someone with a positive spirit as a protection against evil spirits and powers, who can rule over a person and affect one’s body. Rather than viewing “satan,” “impure spirit,” “pain,” and “evil inclination” as four synonyms, they probably consist of four different concepts, arranged in two groups. The latter are the result of the former.<sup>76</sup> With other prayers (like 4Q393, below), it shares the Ezek 36 sequence of forgiveness of sins, to be followed by the granting of creation of a spirit.

3.16.2. 11Q5 27 (from *David’s Compositions*)<sup>77</sup>

ויהי דויד בן ישי חכם ואור כאור השמש וסופר ונבון ותמים בכול דרכיו לפני אל ואנשים  
ויתן לו יהוה רוח נבונה ואורה ויכתוב תהלים ... ושיר ...  
כול אלה דבר בנבואה אשר נתן לו מלפני העליון

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<sup>76</sup>Rosen-Zvi, *Demonic Desires*, 47.

<sup>77</sup>On this composition, cf., e.g., Alex P. Jassen, *Mediating the Divine: Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 250-55, with ample reference to earlier literature.

And David, the son of Jesse, was wise, and shining like the light of the sun, and literate, and discerning and perfect in all his ways before God and men. And *the Lord gave him a discerning and enlightened spirit*. And he wrote ... psalms and songs ... (the total was 4,050).  
All these he spoke through prophecy which was given him from before the Most High.

The phraseology of this entire section is, apart from the phrase “perfect in all his ways,”<sup>78</sup> largely different from the other scrolls. This holds also for the “discerning and enlightened spirit” as well as the “prophecy,” both of which were given to David, probably as an elaboration on 2 Sam 23:2. Given the association in other texts between prophets and the holy spirit, one wonders whether this is a different way of expressing the same, that is, the discerning and enlightened spirit being a synonym of the holy spirit, or whether the text reflects another conceptualization.

### 3.17. Works of God + Communal Confession (4Q392-4Q393)

3.17.1. 4Q393 1 ii-2 4-8

אלוהינו הסתר פניך מחט[או] תינ[ו] וכו' ל עונותינו מחה  
ורוח חדשה ברא בנו וכוונ בקרבנו יצר אמונות  
ולפשעים דרכיך וחטאים השב אליך  
וא[ל] ר[ו]ח נשברה מלפניך תהדף  
על עלפנו עמד למען חר[ו] ונד[ר] ב

Our God, hide our sins from your face, and wipe out all our iniquities;  
Create *a new spirit* in us, and establish in us a faithful inclination.  
To transgressors (teach) your ways, and turn sinners back to you.  
Do not thrust the broken spirit from before you,  
Because your people have fainted because of your great anger.

The prayer is closely related to Ps 51 (see below). As in other examples, “spirit” and “inclination” are juxtaposed.

### 3.18. 4QNon-Canonical Psalms B (4Q381)

3.18.1. 4Q381 1 7

את א[שתו] וברוחו העמידם למשל בכל אלה באדמה ובכל ]

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<sup>78</sup>On this phrase, see Brent A. Strawn, “David as One of the ‘Perfect of (the) Way’: On the Provenience of David’s Compositions (and 11QPs<sup>a</sup> as a Whole?),” *RevQ* 24/96 (2010): 607-26. Because “perfect in all one’s ways” has correspondences in so-called sectarian compositions such as CD, 1QS, and 1QSB, and because of the “literary integrity” of the work, Strawn argues for a sectarian provenience of *David’s Compositions*. However, only this phrase reminds one of the community texts, and it is not clear how the phrase is an integral part of the composition.

with [his] w[ife], and with his breath/spirit he made them stand, to have dominion over all these, on earth and over all [

The text combines the two creation accounts, having God breathe in both man and woman (in contrast to Gen 2:7 where only man receives the breath of life), and Ezek 37, which connects the breath of life with standing. See below.

3.18.2. 4Q381 69 4

וַיִּנְתֶּם<sup>79</sup> לָכֶם בְּרוּחוֹ נְבִיאִים לְהַשְׁכִּיל וּלְלַמֵּד אֶתְכֶם

And to you were given by his spirit prophets to instruct and to teach you.

The cotext and the correspondence with Neh 9 suggest that the reference is to the Exodus period. See below for the brief discussion of Nehemiah 9:20.

3.19. Pseudo-Ezekiel (4Q385, 4Q385b, 4Q386)

3.19.1. 4Q385 2 7-8

וַיֹּאמֶר שׁוּב הִנָּבֵא עַל אַרְבַּע רוּחוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם  
וַיִּפְחוּ רוּחַ [בְּהַרוּגִים וַיְהִי כֵן] וַיְחַיֵּם עִם רַב אַנְשִׁים

And he said, "Prophecy once more to the four winds of heaven, that they breathe breath (=spirit) [upon the slain." And it thus happened.] And a large multitude of men [li]ved. (cf. Ezek 37:9-10)

Pseudo-Ezekiel preserves a brief rewriting of the resurrection scene of Ezek 37, with a specific focus on three aspects, namely the time, the object, and the mode of resurrection. The quoted phrase is close to Ezek 37:9 with some minor changes. In Ezek 37:9 בָּאֵי הָרוּחַ וּפְחִי בְּהַרוּגִים הָאֵלֶּה "come, O wind/breath/spirit, and breathe upon these slain," the wind is the subject of blowing. In the Pseudo-Ezekiel clause the wind/breath/spirit has become the object, which brings the scene slightly closer to Gen 2:7.

3.20. Visions of Amram (4Q542-547; 4Q548-4Q549?)

3.20.1. Composite text

[וּמִשְׁתַּכֵּל הוּיָת בְּמִלְאֲכֵי דִי] חֲזִית בְּחֻזּוֹת [רָאִשֵׁי] חֲזוּה דִי חֲלָמָא  
וְהָא תְּרִין דָּאֲנִין עָלֵי וְאִמְרִין [ ] דִּילֻוּהִי וְאַחַדִּין עָלֵי תִּגְרָב

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<sup>79</sup>The form וַיִּנְתֶּם is puzzling, and the editor suggests metathesis. However, the emended וַיִּתַּנֵּם, "and he gave them," is syntactically unusual, if the suffix anticipates "prophets." I prefer to emend וַיִּנְתַּנּוּ, assuming the combination *nun-waw* in a Vorlage has been misread as *mem*.

ושאלת אנון אנתון מן די כדן מש[לט עלי ? ואמ[רין לי אנחנא  
 ]ש[ליטין ושליטין על כול בני אדם  
 ואמרו לי במן מננא אנתה בעה [לאשתלטה]  
 נטלת עיני וחזית וחד מנהון חזוה חשל כפתן וכול לבושה צבענין וחשיך חשוד [ואנפוהי  
 ואחרנא חזית והא ° [ בחזוה ואנפוה העכן ומכסה בלבוש ]  
 לחדה ומעל עינוהי ]

...

מ[שלט עליך] וענית ואמרת לה עירא [דן מן הוא ואמר לי הדן מ[תקרא בתלתה שמהן  
 ואנן תלתה שמהתה בליעל ושר חשוכה [ומלכי רשע ואמרת מראי מא של[טן לעירא דן וענה ואמר  
 לי חש[יכה וכל עבדה ח[ש]יך ובחשוכה הוא ד[בר כדי אנ]תה חזה והוא משלט  
 על כול חשוכה ואנה] מן מ[צליא עד ארעיא אנה שליט על כול נהורא וכו']ל

[And I (i.e., Amram) was looking at the angels which] I saw in the vision [of my head,] the vision of the dream.

And there were two figures arguing over me and saying [ ] his. And they were having a big dispute over me. And I asked them: "You there, who are you that you have po[wer over me]?" And they said: We [ " have p]ower, and we have power over all the sons of men."

And they said to me: "By which of us do you want to [be ruled]?"

And I lifted my eyes, and saw, and one of them, he looked like the ... of a snake, and all his clothing was dyed and very dark; [and his face ]

And I saw the other one, [ ] his appearance, and his face was smiling and he was covered by a garment [ ] very much, and above his eyes

...

ha]ving power over you [ And I asked:] "Who is this [watcher]?" And he told me: "This one h[as three names, and this are his three names: Belial, Prince of Darkness,] and Melki Resha. And I said, "My lord, what is the domi[nion of this watcher?" And he answered me: dark]ness and all his deeds are dark, and he l[eads] into darkness [ what] you see; and he rules over all darkness, and I [ from the h]eights to the depths. I am ruler over all light and al[l

The importance of this section, reconstructed on the basis of various broken copies, lies in its partial correspondences with the *Two Spirits Treatise*. Here we have two angelic figures, described in terms of light and darkness, and presented as rulers over men, which might be identified with the Angel of Darkness and the Prince of Lights of the *Treatise*. However, there are also differences: in the *Treatise*, the *spirits* of truth and injustice struggle in the heart of men; in the *Visions of Amram* the angels argue over Amram. The *Treatise* portrays determination, while Amram is given a choice.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>80</sup>Cf. also Brand, *Evil Within and Without*, 262-63.



### 3.21. Paraphrase of Genesis and Exodus (4Q422)<sup>81</sup>

3.21.1. 4Q422 1:6-8, 12

וכול[צבאם עשה בדבר]ו[... ]ר עשה ורוח קודש[ו ... הנפ]ש החיה והרמש[ת ... ]ן המשילו לאכול פר[י  
... לב]לתי אכול מעץ הד[עת טוב ורע ... ו]יקום עליו וישכחו[... מכאו]ב ויצר רע ולמען<sup>82</sup> ] ...

and all] their hosts he made by [his] word [ ... ] he made. And [*his*] *holy spirit* [ ... liv]ing creature  
and what move[s on the earth ...] he gave him dominion to eat the fruit [ ... no]t to eat from the  
tree of kno[wledge of good and evil ... and] he stood up against him and they forgot [ ... pai]n and  
evil inclination so as to [...]

The editor notes that this fragment “present the earliest [...] reference to the role of God’s holy spirit in the act of creation,”<sup>83</sup> but from this very fragmentary text it is not clear whether or how God’s holy spirit is involved in the creation, nor is it clear whether there is any contrast intended between God’s holy spirit and the evil inclination.

### 3.22. Other Manuscripts

3.22.1. 1Q39 1 6

[ים ברוח קודשכה ]

] ... by *your holy spirit* [

3.22.2. 1Q30 (1QLiturgical Text) 1 2

Read either מ[שִׁיחַ הקודש], “The holy [Me]ssiah,” or “anointed with (sc. the spirit of) holiness” with DJD 1:132, or, ר[וּחַ חקודש], “the spirit of holiness,” with Puech.

3.22.3. PAM 44.102 frg. 36 1

[ כי רוח קד]ש

Because a spirit of holi[ness

3.22.4. 4Q171 3-10 iv 25

[ קודש כיא

] ... holy, for<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>81</sup>Edition by Torleif Elgvin and Emanuel Tov in *Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 422.

<sup>82</sup>Reading differently from the editors who read ביוצר רע ולמעש[י רשעה], “in evil inclination and for deed[s of injustice].”

<sup>83</sup>Elgvin and Tov, DJD 13:422.

<sup>84</sup>John Marco Allegro, *Qumran Cave 4 · 1* (DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), read here ח קודש [“Hol]y spirit,” but this is incorrect.

3.22.5. 1Q34bis (*Festival Prayers*) 3 ii 6-7 par 4Q509 97-98 i 6-9

במראת כבוד ודברי [...] קודשכה

in a vision of glory and words of your holy [...] <sup>85</sup>

### 3.23.1. Sections of Dead Sea Scrolls Preserved in Other Languages

#### 3.23.1. *Jubilees* 1 <sup>86</sup>

1:19 Then Moses fell prostrate and prayed and said: “Lord my God, do not allow your people and your heritage to go along in the error of their minds, and do not deliver them into the control of the nations with the result that they rule over them lest they make them sin against you. 1:20 May your mercy, Lord, be lifted over your people. Create for them a *just spirit*. May *the spirit of Belial* not rule them so as to bring charges against them before you and to trap them away from every proper path so that they may be destroyed from your presence. 21 They are your people and your heritage whom you have rescued from Egyptian control by your great power. Create for them a pure heart and a *holy spirit*. May they not be trapped in their sins from now to eternity.”

22 Then the Lord said to Moses: “I know their contrary nature, their way of thinking, and their stubbornness. They will not listen until they acknowledge their sins and the sins of their ancestors. 23 After this they will return to me in a fully upright manner and with all (their) minds and all (their) souls. I will cut away the foreskins of their minds and the foreskins of their descendants’ minds. I will create a *holy spirit* for them and will purify them in order that they may not turn away from me from that time forever. 24 Their souls will adhere to me and to all my commandments. They will perform my commandments. I will become their father and they will become my children. 25 All of them will be called children of the living God. Every angel and every spirit will know them. They will know that they are my children and that I am their father in a just and proper way and that I love them.

The terminology of “creating,” “just (or right) spirit,” “pure heart,” and “holy spirit,” has clearly been taken from Ps 51, but the section as a whole uses many biblical examples, such as Deut 9:26-29.

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<sup>85</sup>J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 154, reconstructed “in a vision of glory, and words of your holy [spirit],” but the available spacing seems too large for only כבוד, and the expression “words of the/your holy spirit” is unattested. Nonetheless, he even comments (on the basis of his reconstruction!): “intéressante pour la doctrine de l’inspiration.” Followed by Daniel K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 179. The only photograph, in *RevQ* 5/19 (1965): 340 (Pl. IV) suggests that parts of the first letter should have been visible, but on recent photographs (see the Inscriptifac website) this part of the fragment has broken off. James R. Davila, *Liturgical Works* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2000), 22-23 offers an alternative suggestion, “words of your holy [prophets],” which is also problematic, since the context is clearly the Sinai giving of the law, and the phrase “holy prophets,” is only attested in Greek.

<sup>86</sup>Parts of *Jub.* 1 are preserved in 4Q216, but verses 19-25 only remain in Ge’ez. Translations are, with adaptations, from James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees Translated* (Leuven: Peeters, 1989).

Michael Segal has emphasized that this section does not deal with individuals, but with “God’s relationship with Israel, in contrast with the other nations,”<sup>87</sup> and Menahem Kister emphasizes that the sonship of (some of) the Jews has nothing to do with descent, but is a result “of their repentance, the holy spirit, and their observance of the commandments.”<sup>88</sup>

3.23.2. *Jubilees* 25:13 Bless him, Lord, and place a righteous blessing in my mouth so that I may bless him. 25:14 At that time the *spirit of righteousness*<sup>89</sup> descended into her mouth. She [Rebecca] put her two hands on Jacob’s head and said: ...<sup>90</sup>

In this verse and in *Jub.* 31:12, the relation between God’s spirit and prophecy is described in a graphic narrative way, as a spirit descending into a person’s mouth.

3.23.3. *Testament of Levi / Aramaic Levi Document*<sup>91</sup> (ALD 3:5-6)

μάκρυνον ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ, κύριε, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄδικον καὶ διαλογισμὸν τὸν πονηρὸν καὶ πορνείαν, καὶ ὕβριν ἀπόστρεψον ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ.

δειχθήτω μοι, δέσποτα, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ βουλὴν καὶ σοφίαν καὶ γνῶσιν καὶ ἰσχὺν δός μοι

cf. 4Q213a 1 12-14 text and reconstruction

ארחק [מני מרי רוח עויה ורעיונא ב] אישא וזנותא דחא [מני  
אחזיאני מרי רוח קודשא ועטה וח] כמה ומנדע וגבורה [הב לי

Remove [from me, my Lord, a *spirit of iniquity*, and e]vil [thought] and adultery thrust [away from me,

Let there be shown to me, my Lord, the *holy spirit*, and counsel, wi]sdom, knowledge, and strength, [grant me

As in other prayers given above, there is a correspondence between the removal of evil spirits or dispositions, and the granting of good ones. In this reuse of Isa 11:2, the “spirit of the Lord” is explicitly interpreted as the “holy spirit.”

<sup>87</sup>Cf., e.g., Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 247-56.

<sup>88</sup>Kister, “Body and Sin,” 185, n. 52.

<sup>89</sup>𐤌𐤒𐤕𐤍𐤕𐤔𐤕: Var. 𐤌𐤒𐤕𐤍𐤕𐤔𐤕𐤕: “spirit of holiness.” However, since “righteousness” (𐤕𐤔𐤕) is a key concept in this chapter, it is possible that “spirit of righteousness” is the intended reading.

<sup>90</sup>Comparable is *Jub.* 31:12 where just before Isaac blesses Levi and Judah, the narrator tells “a spirit of prophecy descended into his mouth.” (Lat. *et spiritus profetiae aduenit in os Isaac*).

<sup>91</sup>Text from Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 60-61, 128. See also Henryk Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 174-75, 214-15. All references to the ALD use the numbering in Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel.

### 3.23.4. 1 Enoch 91:1

And now, my son Methuselah,  
Call to me all your brothers,  
and gather to me all the children of your mother  
For a voice is calling me,  
and a *spirit* is poured out upon me,  
so that I may show you everything that will happen to you forever.

Whereas elsewhere in the books of 1 Enoch, Enoch is shown visions by angels or has dreams, the reference to a voice, and the pouring of a spirit, uses the terminology associated to prophecy.<sup>92</sup>

## 4. Reading Forward from Hebrew Bible to the Scrolls

### 4.1. Genesis 2:7

וַיִּצְרֶה יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָאָדָם עָפָר מִן־הָאֲדָמָה וַיִּפָּח בְּאַפָּיו נִשְׁמַת חַיִּים וַיְהִי הָאָדָם לְנֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה:

then the Lord God formed man from the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and the man became a living being,

See above on Ezek 37 for the *Non-Canonical Psalms B* which rephrases Gen 2:7 with terms derived from Ezek 37. Rather than “breathing into the nostrils the breath of life,” 4Q381 1 7 refers to “his (sc. God’s) spirit,” and “the becoming a living being” is described as “making stand.” See Ezek 37:10 for the combination of the entering of the spirit and the standing on one’s feet. The idea that life in human beings is due to the presence God’s spirit is also expressed in Gen 6:3— which is quoted in 4Q252 1:2—and in Isa 42:5 “who gives breath to the people upon it, and spirit to those who walk in it.”

A more complex interpretation of the account of the creation of man is found in the so-called *Vision of Hagu* passage in 4QInstruction, which has been interpreted in quite different ways. Either the text contrasts two kinds of humanity, perhaps going back to two different creations, namely the “spiritual people” and the “fleshly spirit.” Or the text distinguishes between two different spirits given at creation, namely a spirit of insight and a physical spirit.

### 4.2. Isaiah 11:1-2 (1QIsa<sup>a</sup> is as MT)

11:1 וַיֵּצֵא חֹטֵר מִגִּזְעֵי יֵשׁוּעַ וַיִּצְרֶה מִשְׁרָשָׁיו יִפְרֶה:  
2 וַנְּחֶה עָלָיו רוּחַ יְהוָה רוּחַ חֲכָמָה וּבִינָה רוּחַ עֲצָה וּגְבוּרָה רוּחַ דַּעַת וַיִּרְאֵת יְהוָה:

<sup>92</sup>See comments in Loren T. Stuckenbruck, 1 Enoch 91-108 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 160.

11:1 A shoot shall come out from the stump of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots.

11:2 The spirit of the LORD shall rest on him,  
the spirit of wisdom and understanding,  
the spirit of counsel and might,  
the spirit of knowledge and the fear of the LORD.

The entire passage Isa 10:33-11:5 has been interpreted and reused in several Dead Sea scrolls, as well as *Pss. Sol.* 17, as an eschatological text, relating to the judgment of enemies and the rule of a righteous figure.<sup>93</sup> Thus in a commentary on Isaiah (4Q161 = 4QpIsa<sup>a</sup>) Isa 11:1-5 are quoted as lemma, and then explained as referring to the Branch of David at the end of days. The *Rule of the Congregation* (1QSb 5:22, 24-26) quotes parts of Isa 11:4, 2, and 5 in the blessing of the eschatological Prince of the Congregation, and in the *Rule of the War* (4Q285 7) Isa 10:34-11:1 is applied to the eschatological “Prince of the Congregation, the Branch of David.” Only the second of those texts takes up explicitly the motif of the bestowal of spirit, “He will give [you a spirit of counse]l and eternal might, a spirit of knowledge and the fear of God,” quoting Isa 11:2b. *Psalms of Solomon* 17:34b-42 also uses many elements from Isa 11:2-5 to qualify the future Davidic righteous king, including vs 37 which rephrases Isa 11:2: “for God made him mighty through his holy spirit, and wise through a counsel of understanding, with strength and righteousness.”

However, Isa 11:2 also has been interpreted independent of its context. This may perhaps be the case in the *Aramaic Levi Document* where Levi prays “Let there be shown to me, my Lord, the holy spirit; and counsel, wisdom, knowledge, and strength, grant me.” In the literary context of the *Aramaic Levi Document* the prayer for the holy spirit mirrors the plea to remove the spirit of injustice. The granting of the spirit does not, however, result in the eschatological punishment of the wicked, but in “doing that what is pleasing to you” (*ALD* 3:7) and “doing true law,” (3:17) both of which could be connected to priestly service (cf. especially the juxtaposition in *ALD* 6:2 of “the true law” and “the law of the priesthood”). However, the latter, “true law,” or “true judgment,” might also anticipate the Shechem incident, in which case there would be after all a connection with the judgment executed in Isa 10:33-11:5, and the text might even claim Davidic, that is royal functions for priests.<sup>94</sup> About the wording of the use of Isa 11:2 it may be noted that Isaiah’s “Spirit of the Lord” has been replaced, as in *Pss. Sol.* 17:37, by “(the) holy spirit.”<sup>95</sup> From the wording of the two poetical stichs, it is not clear whether the showing (?) of “holy spirit” implies the granting of “counsel, wisdom, knowledge, and strength,” or whether these are emphasized as separate gifts.

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<sup>93</sup>For discussions, see, e.g., Géza G. Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet: Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 206-7 and Alex P. Jassen, “Re-reading 4QPesher Isaiah A (4Q161): Forty Years after DJD V,” in *The Mermaid and the Partridge* (ed. George J. Brooke and Jesper Høgenhaven; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 57-90.

<sup>94</sup>Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*, 214-15, considers that the connection of the Isaiah text to Levi is a conscious exegetical move, in order to apply royal (messianic?) attributes to priests. This would match well with Kugel’s view on a late-second century B.C.E., pro-Hasmonean origin of the document. See, e.g., James L. Kugel, “How Old Is the Aramaic Levi Document,” in *A Walk through Jubilees: Studies in the Book of Jubilees and the World of its Creation* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 343-64.

<sup>95</sup>But note that the Aramaic words corresponding to τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον are lost.

In the Hebrew Bible, the phrases “spirit of understanding” and “spirit of knowledge” are only found in Isa 11:2, but both are found more often in the Dead Sea scrolls, for example in *Incantation* “a spirit of knowledge and understanding, truth and righteousness, God put in my heart.” More in general, and sometimes entirely divorced from the specific context of Isa 10:33-11:5, “God’s holy spirit” is frequently closely connected with insight and understanding. Thus, according to the *Hodayot* (1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:14-16) God’s gift of the (holy) spirit to the hymnist results in understanding (see also other examples in the *Hodayot*). Other connections between knowledge and God’s spirit are found in, e.g., *Incantation* (4Q444 1-4 i + 5 1) and *Words of the Luminaries*. One may also point at the Old Greek of Daniel, which in 5:11-12 explains Daniel’s wisdom by stating that there was “a holy spirit in him” (LXX Theodotion has here “a divine spirit”), while MT Dan 5:11 refers to “a spirit of the holy gods.” The use of different terms like “spirit of understanding,” “spirits of knowledge,” might be seen as synonyms, but there are also texts that refer to the giving of plural spirits, such as 1QH<sup>a</sup> 4:29.

#### 4.3. Isaiah 61:1

רוח אֲדֹנֵי יְהוָה עָלַי יֵעַן מָשַׁח יְהוָה אֹתִי לְבַשָּׁר עֲנֻיִם שְׁלַחֲנִי לְחַבֵּשׁ לְנִשְׁבְּרֵי־לֵב לְקַרְא לְשָׁבוּיִם דְּרוֹר וּלְאַסּוּרִים  
פְּקַח־קוֹחַ

The spirit of the Lord GOD is upon me,  
because the LORD has anointed me;  
he has sent me to bring good news to the oppressed,  
to bind up the brokenhearted,  
to proclaim liberty to the captives,  
and release to the prisoners;

The verse is one of those messianic passages that is used repeatedly in the scrolls, though not always with explicit reference to the spirit. 11Q13 1 ii may have quoted Isa 61:1 in line 4, but most of the line is lost; line 9 refers to Isa 61:2, and line 18 refers to Isa 61:1 when it refers to the “messenger” (the bringer of good news) and the “anointed of spirit.” Also 4Q521 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 23:15 use part of Isa 61:1 (“bringing good news to the oppressed”).

#### 4.4. Ezekiel 36:25-27

36:25 וְזָרַקְתִּי עֲלֵיכֶם מִיַּם טְהוֹרִים וְטָהַרְתֶּם מִכָּל טְמְאוֹתֵיכֶם וּמִכָּל־גִּלּוּלֵיכֶם אֶטְהַר אֶתְכֶם:  
26 וְנָתַתִּי לָכֶם לֵב חָדָשׁ וְרוּחַ חָדָשׁ אֶתֵּן בְּקִרְבְּכֶם וְהִסַּרְתִּי אֶת־לֵב הָאֶבֶן מִבְּשָׁרְכֶם וְנָתַתִּי לָכֶם לֵב בָּשָׂר:  
27 וְאֶת־רוּחִי אֶתֵּן בְּקִרְבְּכֶם וְעָשִׂיתִי אֶת אֲשֶׁר־בַּחֲקִי תֵּלְכוּ וּמִשְׁפָּטִי תִשְׁמְרוּ וְעָשִׂיתֶם:

25 I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean from all your uncleannesses, and from all your idols I will purify you.

26 A new heart I will give you, and a new spirit I will put within you; and I will remove from your body the heart of stone and give you a heart of flesh.

27 I will put my spirit within you, and make you follow my statutes and be careful to observe my ordinances.

This section of Ezekiel has connections with both Jer 31:31-34 and Ps 51. Whatever the diachronic relationship between those texts,<sup>96</sup> they would have been read synchronically by the authors of the scrolls, and the terminology of both texts is used. At the same time, it should be observed that Ezek 36 describes the purification of the house of Israel as a community, and the granting of a new spirit which results in its keeping God's commandments. Psalm 51, however, applies the language of a pure heart and the renewal of a spirit to the individual worshiper. Both aspects can be found in the scrolls. Thus, *Jub.* 1, which uses the terminology of Ps 51, nonetheless agrees more with Ezek 37, in applying this language to the nation of Israel. 4Q393 1 ii-2 uses Ps 51, and when it says "create a new spirit in us," it paraphrases Ps 51:12. However, it adopts the term "new spirit" from Ezek 36:26 (cf. also Ezek 11:19; 18:31) and the text deals with the nation, not the individual. The idea of a heart of stone (Ezek 11:19; 36:26) is thematized in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21, but not directly connected to the spirit that God has placed in the hymnist (1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:34). The editor reconstructed the term "heart of stone" in the *Barkhi Nafshi* hymn, probably in view of the parallelism with the following "a pure heart," which would bring it close to the largely reconstructed "holy spirit" in the next stich. Scholars sometimes connect these verses from Ezek 36 and Ps 51 to 1QS 3:6-9 and 4:20-22, because all four passages connect the notions of "spirit" and "purification." Yet, the *Rule of the Community* passages present an important development: while in Ezek 36 and Ps 51 the spirit is bestowed after purification, in 1QS 3:6-9 it is through the spirit(s) that a person is purified. See, similarly, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 4:38 and 8:30.

#### 4.5. Ezekiel 37

5 כֹּה אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוֹה לְעַצְמוֹת הָאֱלֹהִים הַנֵּה אֲנִי מְבִיא בָכֶם רוּחַ וְחַיִּים:  
6 וְנָתַתִּי עֲלֵיכֶם גִּידִים וְהָעֲלֹתִי עֲלֵיכֶם בָּשָׂר וְקִרְמָתִי עֲלֵיכֶם עוֹר וְנָתַתִּי בָכֶם רוּחַ וְחַיִּים וִידַעְתֶּם כִּי־אֲנִי יְהוֹה:

9 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי הַנְּבִא אֶל־הָרוּחַ הַנְּבִא בְּנֶאֱדָם וְאָמַרְתָּ אֶל־הָרוּחַ כֹּה־אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוֹה מֵאַרְבַּע רוּחוֹת בְּאֵי הָרוּחַ  
וּפָחִי בִּהְרוּגִים הָאֵלֶּה וַיְחִי:

10 וְהַנְּבִאֲתִי כִּאֲשֶׁר צֻוֵּי וַתְּבוֹא בָהֶם הָרוּחַ וַיְחִי וַיַּעֲמֵדוּ עַל־רַגְלֵיהֶם חֵל גָּדוֹל מְאֹד־מְאֹד:

14 וְנָתַתִּי רוּחִי בָכֶם וְחַיִּים וְהַנְחֵתִי אֶתְכֶם עַל־אֲדָמַתְכֶם וִידַעְתֶּם כִּי־אֲנִי יְהוֹה דְּבַרְתִּי וַעֲשִׂיתִי נְאֻם־יְהוֹה:

<sup>96</sup> Anja Klein, "From the 'Right Spirit' to the 'Spirit of Truth': Observations on Psalm 51 and 1QS," in *The Dynamics of Language and Exegesis at Qumran* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Reinhard G. Kratz; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 171-91 argues that the Ezekiel section is dependent on Jer 31, and is late Persian or Hellenistic, with Ps 51 in turn depending on Ezek 36:25-27.

5 Thus says the Lord God to these bones: I will cause breath (=spirit) to enter you, and you shall live.

6 I will lay sinews on you, and will cause flesh to come upon you, and cover you with skin, and put breath (=spirit) in you, and you shall live; and you shall know that I am the Lord.”

9 Then he said to me, “Prophecy to the breath (=spirit), prophecy, mortal, and say to the breath (=spirit): Thus says the Lord God: Come from the four winds, O breath (=spirit), and breathe upon these slain, that they may live.”

10 I prophesied as he commanded me, and the breath (=spirit) came into them, and they lived, and stood on their feet, a vast multitude.

14 I will put my spirit within you, and you shall live, and I will place you on your own soil; then you shall know that I, the Lord, have spoken and will act,” says the Lord.

In both Ezek 37, and in the following Gen 2:7, רוּחַ may be seen both as wind or breath, and as spirit, which causes man to become a living being. Within Ezek 37, the breath that revives the dead Israelites, is connected with God’s spirit (37:14) that revives the nations and brings them back from exile. The Ezekiel terminology is quoted in the rewriting of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, but also has influenced the account in *4QNon-Canonical Psalms B* of the breath or spirit given to mankind at creation, where God’s breath not only brings them to life, but also raises them to their feet.

#### 4.6. Psalm 51:12-14 (Eng. 51:10-12)

51:12 לֵב טָהוֹר בְּרָא־לִי אֱלֹהִים וְרוּחַ נָכוֹן חִדָּשׁ בְּקִרְבִּי:

51:13 אֶל־תִּשְׁלִיכֵנִי מִלִּפְנֵיךָ וְרוּחַ קִדְשְׁךָ אֶל־תִּקַּח מִמֶּנִּי:

51:14 הַשִּׁיבָה לִּי שִׂשׂוֹן יִשְׁעֶךָ וְרוּחַ נְדִיבָה תִּסְמְכֵנִי:

51:12[E10] Create in me a pure heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me.

13[E11] Do not cast me away from your presence, and do not take your holy spirit from me.

14[E12] Restore to me the joy of your salvation, and sustain in me a willing spirit.

Psalm 51, one of the two texts from the Hebrew Bible that refers to a “holy spirit,” has been taken up in several of the Dead Sea scrolls. This goes clearly for *Jub.* 1:19-25 which adopts the terminology of “creating” a “right spirit” (*Jub.* 1:20; Ps 51:12[E10]) and a “pure heart” (*Jub.* 1:21; Ps 51:12[E10]), as well as a “holy spirit” (*Jub.* 1:21, 23; Ps 51:13[E11]), but which also connects (the creation of) a holy spirit with purification (*Jub.* 1:23). But the passage also seems to have thought of Ezek 36:26-27, since it relates the gift or creation of the spirit to the observation of the commandments (*Jub.* 1:24; Ezek 36:27).



Passages of the same Psalm are quoted or echoed in 4Q393 (*4QCommunal Confession*) 1 ii-2 2-7, which reworks Ps 51:6-7, 11-12, 15, and then combines elements of 51:19 and 13.<sup>97</sup> Verse 11 has been entirely reworked into *וְרוּחַ חֲדָשָׁה בְּרָא בָנוּ וְכוֹנֵן בְּקִרְבָּנוּ יִצְרָא אֱמוּנָתָנוּ*, “and create a new spirit in us, and establish in us a faithful inclination” (4Q393 1 ii - 2 6-7), where “faithful inclination” (cf. “faithful spirit” in 11Q5 19:14) seems to replace “pure heart.” This confession does not, however, take up the Ps 51:13 clause which refers to God’s “holy spirit.”

The connections with the *Barkhi Nafshi* prayer are limited to a few phrases, such as “pure heart,” and “holy spirit,” the latter largely reconstructed, but it develops the metaphor, already found in Ezek 36:26-27, of the removal from evil from the body, and the placing of pure and holy inclinations into the body.

More generally, the terminology and ideas of Ps 51 can be recognized in the *Rule of the Community*, through the adoption of specific terms, like *רוּחַ נִשְׁבָּרָה*, “broken spirit” (Ps 51:19[E17]; 1QS 8:3; 11:1), and thematically, with respect to the idea of spiritual sacrifice (Ps 51:18-19[E16-17] and the connection of purification and the spirit.<sup>98</sup> For the conceptualization of the *Hodayot* Ps 51:7-8[E5-6] are crucial as background for its understanding of the human body as evil and sinful, and for the concept of God wishing truth and knowledge in its inner parts. Also in other texts, like the *Testament of Qahat*, the language of pure heart and upright spirit seems to relate to Ps 51.

#### 4.7. Psalm 104:4 (LXX 103:4)

עֲשֵׂה מְלָאכָיו רוּחוֹת מְשָׁרְתָיו אֵשׁ לֵהֵט:

you make the winds your messengers,  
fire and flame your ministers. (NRSV)

The NRSV translation probably reflects the intention of this verse: natural phenomena are subservient to God. However, the LXX *ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα*, “who makes spirits his messengers (or angels),” reflects the fuzzy distinction between “spirits” and “angels.” A close association between specific natural heavenly phenomena, spirits, and angels, is proposed in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:12-15: “powerful angels ... before they came to be holy angels ... eternal spirits in their dominions: luminaries ... stars ... storm winds ... shooting stars and lightning.” In other texts, the terms spirits and angels are juxtaposed, or in parallel phrases, such as “and all the spirits of his lot, the angels of destruction” (1QM 13:11-12). The second part of the verse may also be read to say that God’s ministers are fiery and flamy, which would explain why the spirits in the *Shirot Olat ha-Shabbat* are described as fiery. See also 1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:12-14.

#### 4.8. Nehemiah 9:20

<sup>97</sup> Edition by Daniel Falk in *Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (DJD 20; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 49-53. However, parts of the correspondence with Ps 51 are reconstructed or based on identification of very badly legible text. Since several readings are doubtful, the correspondence with Ps 51 may be less literal than suggested by the edition.

<sup>98</sup> Klein, “From the ‘Right Spirit’ to the ‘Spirit of Truth.’”

וְרוּחְךָ הַטּוֹבָה נָתַתָּ לְהַשְׁכִּילָם וּמִנֶּחֱד לֹא־מִנְעַתָּ מִפִּיהֶם וּמִים נָתַתָּה לָהֶם לְצִמְאָם:

You gave your good spirit to instruct them, and did not withhold your manna from their mouths, and gave them water for their thirst.

No fragment from Nehemiah has been found at the caves from Qumran,<sup>99</sup> and there is little evidence of use of the book among the scrolls, except for correspondences between Neh 9 and 4Q381 69. One such correspondence is between Neh 9:20 and 4Q381 69 4, “he gave them to you by his spirit, prophets to instruct and to teach you,” both passages referring to the period of the Sinai wanderings. The Nehemiah passage might perhaps refer to Num 11:16-25, but the association of God’s “holy spirit” in Isa 63:10-14 (the only other Hebrew Bible apart from Ps 51 mentioning “holy spirit”) makes it more likely that the text refers here to Moses. The idea is then either that the holy spirit was in Moses (cf. Isa 63:11), or that Moses is seen as transcending humanity (for which see 4Q377 2 ii 10-11), and could himself be called the “good spirit.” A late text, which may have developed by combining Isa 63:14 and Neh 9:20a, is Ps 143:10 “Teach me to do your will, for you are my God. Let your good spirit lead me on a level path.”<sup>100</sup>

## 5. Holy Spirit and the Scrolls

The many different scrolls texts presented in section 3 demonstrate large differences with respect to terminology and conceptualizations of spirit between the texts. For example, the *Damascus Document* only refers to “holy spirit” with respect to either prophecy, or to the self viewed as holy. The latter aspect corresponds to a few other uses of “spirit” in the *Damascus Document* where it refers to a person’s self with respect to will and behaviour (see, e.g., CD 3:3, 7; 20:4). With one exception the text does not acknowledge a world of spirits inside or outside human beings. Only in CD 12:2-3 does the text refer to the spirits of Belial who have dominion over people. The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* lead the listener by means of language into a world of spirits, angels, and other divine beings, but does not elaborate on the relationships between those spirits and the human world or individual human being. *4QInstruction* mainly uses “spirit” with respect to the human spirit, even sharing the unique phrase “fleshly spirit” with the *Hodayot*, and once using “holy spirit” to refer to a person’s self. Yet, apart from a small fragment (4Q418 76) that hardly seems to fit in what we know about the compositions, the text is not concerned with one or more holy spirits. Many other texts hardly employ the term “spirit,” let alone “holy spirit” in a particular sense. For

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<sup>99</sup>There is no evidence that the one Dead Sea Scrolls fragment preserving text of Nehemiah (Schøyen collection MS 5425) actually comes from Qumran, and it is likely that most of the fragments that were sold in the 2000s come from a different, hitherto still unknown findplace. The tentative identification with 4Q117 is clearly wrong. Cf. also Émile Puech, “Review of Armin Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer I*,” *RevQ* 25/97 (2011): 156 “l’origine qumranienne du fragment de Néhémie signalé me paraît être douteuse.”

<sup>100</sup>The two rather similar verbal forms Ps 143:10 תְּנִיחֵנִי and Isa 63:14 תְּנִיחֵנוּ are hifils of two different roots, נָחַה “to lead,” and נָחַ, “to give rest,” but the LXX translated both of them by ὁδηγέω, “to lead.”

example, the *Words of the Luminaries* adopts Isa 44:3b, and substitutes the Isaianic “my spirit” by “your holy spirit,” but does not extend beyond the use of Isaiah. To some extent, these differences may be due to the genre and subject matter of the texts, rather than the world-view of their composers, or to a development within the scrolls. Nonetheless, it shows that one cannot discuss in general the views of the scrolls, let alone lump together views found in different compositions.

### 5.1. Holy Spirit within a World of Spirits

In many texts, references to a or God’s holy spirit cannot be detached from the larger context. Rather the contexts show that one should analyze holy spirit as part of and within a larger complex of terms which reflect a specific world view. These complexes involve spirits that are mentioned in other terms, and which sometimes seem to be synonyms of “holy spirit,” such as “spirit of knowledge” or “spirit of truth.” From a literary perspective, the use of some synonyms may be influenced by Isa 11:2, which first refers to the “spirit of the Lord,” and subsequently to “the spirit of wisdom and understanding,” and so on. From a conceptual point of view, it is not always clear whether, for example, the “spirit of understanding,” or “spirit of knowledge,” were identified with “spirit of holiness,” whether the different names reflect distinct conceptualizations, or whether we are encountering a world view which does not always differentiate between one or multiple spirits. This might explain why the hymnist usually thanks God for the granting of one spirit, but sometimes for multiple ones.

These textual complexes sometimes also involve, as an opposite to “holy spirit” (or to other spirits), evil spirits, such as “spirit of impurity” in 1QS 4:20-22. Such polarities also include the “spirit of truth” and the “spirit of injustice” in the same section, but also already earlier in the *Two Spirits Treatise*. In the same treatise, the list of the *Two Ways* more generally opposed good and evil dispositions, a few of which are referred to as spirits.

Heuristically, the *Two Spirits Treatise* is of importance for understanding the conceptualizations of the spirits. Throughout the text, the opposite spirits are sometimes presented as externalized angelic and demonic figures, a conceptualization which is also reflected in 1QM 13:9-12 and the quoted 4Q177 passage. One might relate these passages to the scene from the *Visions of Amram* which describes the conflict between two opposing angelic figures about the rule over Amram. In most texts it is not clear how the “evil spirits,” which in some texts are called “spirits of the lot of Belial,” are conceptualized, as demonic figures, or as the sometimes personalized sins that lead people astray. Apparently, the *Words of the Sage* (4Q510-4Q511) tends towards the former (4Q510 1 and 4Q511 10),<sup>101</sup> whereas in other texts this is less clear. This shows that even within the small corpus of texts that are now sometimes referred to as “community texts,” or “Maskil texts,” there are clear differentiations.

At the same time, the opposing spirits can also be understood in the *Two Spirits Treatise* as internalized dispositions or tendencies towards good and evil. This is expressed in the list of the

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<sup>101</sup>On these texts, see now Joseph L. Angel, “Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the *Song of the Sage* (4Q510-511),” *DSD* 19 (2012): 1-27.

*Two Ways*, but also more generally in the terminology of walking in the ways of those spirits. This may also be reflected in what seem to be alternative ways of expressing the same thing. Thus, 4Q*Incantation* states that God has placed a spirit of knowledge and understanding in one's heart, and the *Hodayot* blesses God for having favoured his servant with a spirit of knowledge. However, the *Hodayot* also tells that God has given knowledge and understanding in the heart of the hymnist, without referring to a spirit (4Q426 1 i 4; cf. also 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:19). Older scholarship, which culminated in Sekki's monograph, which tried to decide what category of "spirit" was meant in each separate case, is problematic because it assumes strict conceptual boundaries and ontological differences between one and the other. The same does not only hold true for the word "spirit," but likewise with respect to the noun *beliya'al*, which can appear both as proper noun Belial referring to a demonic figure, and as a common noun denoting wickedness. It also applies to the term "evil inclination," which has demonic aspects but is internalized as sinfulness in human beings (an "intermediate demonic figure").<sup>102</sup>

The recent work of Newsom on spirit and flesh in the *Hodayot* and Rosen-Zvi on the *yetzer hara*, illustrates a way out from the problems of older scholarship.<sup>103</sup> Newsom reads the discourse about spirit and flesh in the *Hodayot* from the perspective of indigenous psychology as the expression of an evolving notion of the person and the embodied self. Rosen-Zvi discusses *yetzer hara* epistemologically as an explanation for human sinfulness. Both authors see in the texts they discuss a tendency towards internalization.

Newsom's study of the *Hodayot* is an exemplary analysis of the use of spirit and flesh in one specific text, one of the few well-preserved scrolls compositions. Her observations also allow one to compare the model of the *Hodayot* with that of other texts. For example, unlike Ezek 36:25-27 which speaks both of the putting of something new in the body and the removal of the heart of stone, the *Hodayot* does not refer to removal, but retains a tension. The body itself is the perverted spirit, the spirit of flesh, into which God grants a spirit. In Newsom's words, "while the internalized divine spirit does not entirely override the rest of the person's intentionality, as in the common biblical model, or replace it, as in Ezekiel's model, it does enable the speaker to become aware of those other aspects of his self (his "spirit of flesh," "spirit of error," and "perverted spirit") that he now experiences as part of himself but as an objectified aspect that struggles for control over him."<sup>104</sup> This, however, may not be the model of many other scrolls. For example, the *Barkhi Nafshi* text (as well as the *Prayer of Levi*) explicitly aligns with Ezekiel's model: it refers to the banishment of evil inclination, the removal of vices, and the destruction of the spirit of deceit. The incantations or apotropaic texts, such as 4Q444 and 4Q510-4Q511, may be more subtle, acknowledging the struggle between evil spirits and God's granted spirits in the human body.

But what is the place of "holy spirit" within these complexes of divine and evil spirits, either external or internalized? Newsom demonstrated that though at some places in the *Hodayot* "the spirit that you placed in me" is used in the immediate textual vicinity of, or even in parallelism

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<sup>102</sup>Rosen-Zvi, *Demonic Desires*, 53.

<sup>103</sup>Newsom, "Flesh, Spirit, and the Indigenous Psychology of the *Hodayot*"; Rosen-Zvi, *Demonic Desires*.

<sup>104</sup>Newsom, *ibid.*, 350-51.

to “holy spirit,” the semantic collocations differ. The *Hodayot* never state clearly that a “holy spirit” has been placed within the hymnist,<sup>105</sup> and rather recall the spraying of the holy spirit upon (על), or once in (ב).<sup>106</sup> With the one exception of the reconstructed *Barkhi Nafshi* text, “a [hol]y [spirit] you set in my heart,”<sup>107</sup> the same holds true (both for “holy spirit,” and for suffixed references to God’s spirit) for the entire collection of scrolls. Apparently, even though “God’s spirit” or “holy spirit” was closely related to, e.g., “spirit of knowledge” (cf. Isa 11:2), the authors never (in the preserved texts) located the former within the human body. This might be no more than coincidence, due to the limited preserved material, or to semantic syntactical preferences. Or it may reflect a conceptual distinction between the holy spirit as a general divine force, and other spirits representing specific qualities given to men.

## 5.2. Spirit, Knowledge, Speech, and Worship

The granting of a spirit to men is in many cases connected to knowledge and speech. This already holds true for some references to the creation story. The inbreathing of Gen 2:7 not only gives the breath of life, so that a human being becomes a living being, who then can stand on one’s feet (cf. 4Q381 1 7). It also associates the inbreathing of Gen 2:7 with the bestowal of insight and knowledge to Adam, as in 4Q504 8 recto 4-6. Something similar, but then referring to a special kind of knowledge, seems to be implied in the *Vision of Meditation* section of 4QInstruction.<sup>108</sup>

A different kind of connection between spirit, knowledge, and speech, may be implied in the associations in Hebrew Bible and scrolls of prophecy with the holy spirit. Cf., e.g., 2 Sam 23:2 “The spirit of the Lord speaks through me, his word is on my tongue.” One may also compare *Jub.* 25:13 and 31:12. *First Enoch* 91:1 where Enoch reports that a spirit is poured out on him, “so that I may show you everything that will happen to you forever,” adds another element, namely that the spirit grants knowledge of the future. In this respect, the spirit given to Adam that gives human beings knowledge, differs from the prophet’s anointment of the spirit which grants the knowledge of foresight.

The link between spirit and understanding, knowledge, and insight, is however found in a different way in some of the community scrolls. Exemplaric for the *Hodayot* are the hymnist’s confessions in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:35-36, “And I, your servant, know by means of the spirit that you have given me,” and in 6:36-37, “As for me, your servant, you have favoured me with the spirit of knowledge, to choose truth and righteousness and to abhor every unjust way.” Or, from another section of the

<sup>105</sup>Note that in 8:20 the verb “give” has been reconstructed.

<sup>106</sup>But note with some verbs there seems to be little difference between ב and על. Cf., e.g., שים על and שים ב.

<sup>107</sup>Because of this exceptional use, one should seriously examine from a physical point of view Qimron’s suggestion to reconstruct מַחֲשַׁבֶּת. On the other hand, the *Barkhi Nafshi* text is not characteristic of the so-called community texts, and may therefore reflect a different conceptualization.

<sup>108</sup>Not necessarily connected to Gen 2:7 are other broken statements which connect the creation of Adam and knowledge Cf. 4Q305 1 ii 1-3, “and he created on it animals ... gave to Adam knowledge ... and evil, to know.” 4Q303 1 8-9 “and understanding of good and evil, to ... taking Adam from it, because.”

scroll, in 20:15-16, “By your holy spirit you have opened up knowledge within me through the mystery of your wisdom.” The purpose of this knowledge is manifold. It enables the instructor, and through the performance of the psalms every participant, to understand the true nature of one’s self in relation to God, including knowledge how to worship and how to keep the commandments. But it also provides to the hymnist the proper response, namely how to speak in worship the right words of praise and confession.

A different line of thought may be developed in the very broken *Incantation* (4Q444). Here there seems to be some connection between the granting of the spirit of knowledge, and the writing of the laws of God in the heart, clearly combining Isa 11:2 and Jer 31:31-34.

In a more indirect fashion, an association between the spirit of truth and knowledge is found in the introduction of the *Ways of the Two Spirits* in *Two Spirits Treatise*, “to enlighten the heart of man, to make level before him all the ways of righteousness and of truth, and to instil in his heart reverence for the precepts of God.” Within the enumeration of the ways of the spirit of truth, we can also find the same sequence of spirit, understanding, and zeal, as in one of the psalms of the *Hodayot*. The *Ways of the Two Spirits* lists “a spirit of knowledge with regard to every plan of action, zeal for the precepts of righteousness.” 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:24-25 “And as for me, I know from the understanding that comes from you that through your goodwill toward a person you multi[ply his portion] in your holy spirit. Thus you draw him nearer to your understanding. And according to his closeness, so is his zeal against all evildoers and people of deceit.”

### 5.3. Holy Spirit, Purification, and Holiness

Typical of several texts is the close association of spirit of holiness and purification. Pride of first place goes to 1QS 3:6-9 and 4:20-22. This association between a pure heart and spirit has been developed from Ezek 36:25-26 and Ps 51, though in Ezekiel purification precedes the new spirit. Typical of Ezekiel and Psalm 51, is the concern with sin and the purity of the heart. This motif is elaborated and transformed in the *Rule of the Community* and the *Hodayot*. Psalm 51:7, “I was born in iniquity, in sin my mother conceived me,” is read as an anthropological statement about the nature of human beings, who in the *Hodayot* are seen as a source of impurity and a structure of sin, a perverted being without understanding (e.g., 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:24). The *Hodayot* repeatedly refers to God purifying the hymnist, twice (1QH<sup>a</sup> 4:38; 8:30) with explicit reference to his holy spirit. The *Plea for Deliverance* (11Q5 19:13-16), which has a different background than the *Hodayot* and the *Community Rule*, still adopts the sequence of Ezek 36 and Ps 51: forgiveness and purification precede the granting of a spirit.

But why do the texts conceive a person to be purified with God’s holy spirit? One might assume that this is related to the conceptual SPIRIT IS WATER metaphor, which appears from the collocations with verbs that are otherwise used with liquids, such as (in the scrolls) הִזָּה, “sprinkle”; הִנִּיף, “sprinkle,” “spray”; יָצַק, “pour out.” Just as physical water is used in the purification process of physical pollution, thus God’s immaterial spirit is requisite for the purification of spiritual impurity. This may be confirmed by other metaphors in the texts, such as the metallurgical בָּרַר, “cleanse,” זָקַק, “refine,” and הִתֵּם, “purge,” in 1QS 4:20-21, which do not take spirits as an indirect object.

Overall, many of the scrolls dealing with spirit also cover issues of purity and impurity. The collection of scrolls includes many texts that deal with specific halakhic issues, including those of ritual purity and impurity, such as *Miqsat Ma'ase ha-Torah* (MMT) which presents some halakhic disputes mainly concerning the purity of Jerusalem. Or, another example, the so-called *Tohorot* texts which deal with graded impurity and ablutions. Yet, other scrolls apply some of the language of purity and impurity, purification and defilement to so-called moral impurity or human sinfulness in general, or even human nature. In those texts, but in a sense in the collection as whole, we see a tension between the acknowledgement of human sinfulness and impurity and the aspiration towards holiness. Conceptually, the language of holy spirit is often located within this tension, and cannot be divorced from it. Even though “holy spirit” has become in the period of the scrolls a way of referring to God’s spirit, apparently referring to the holiness of God, in many texts its semantics have widened, relating to the external and internalized support of the community’s or individual’s goal of holiness.

## 6. Reading Backwards: From New Testament Back to the Scrolls

### 6.1. John 20:21-23

The three references to “holy spirit” in the Gospel of John all employ different metaphors and means of transference. Thus, 1:32-33 first uses the bird metaphor, since the spirit “descends from heaven, like a dove” and “remains on him,” i.e., on Jesus, while 1:33 moves to a liquid metaphor: to baptize with (or in) the holy spirit. In 14:26, the Paraclete or Holy Spirit is being sent by God, in Jesus’ name, which recalls the image of the sending of a heavenly figure (spirit or angel) or prophet. In 20:22 the holy spirit is like breath, transferred by inbreathing. The different metaphors, as well as the different terminology in John (τὸ πνεῦμα, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, ὁ παράκλητος), suggest that there is not a systematized or consistent pneumatology.

The use of ἐμφυσάω in John 20:22 (used only here in the New Testament) connects the verse to various Hebrew Bible (and LXX) passages that refer to the breathing in of breath or spirit, resulting in the life of those being inbreathed. This holds for Gen 2:7 and Ezek 37:9 (both נָפַח which LXX renders with ἐμφυσάω), but also for 1 Kgs 17:21 (where LXX has Elijah breathing three times in or on the dead boy and thus reanimates him) and Wisd 15:11.<sup>109</sup> In contrast to those passages, ἐνεφύσησεν in John 20:22 does not have an explicit direct or indirect object, and the context does not deal with the animating or reanimating human beings, but with the transference of holy spirit.<sup>110</sup>

Ezekiel 37:14 and 4Q381 1 7 indicate that the object of the inbreathing in Gen 2:7 and Ezek 37:9 is God’s spirit, whereas 4Q504 8 recto 4-6 and 4Q417 1 i 13-18 explicitly connect the giving of

<sup>109</sup>But note that one should not assume that each of the New Testament authors had access to all the books in Greek translation.

<sup>110</sup>The wording of John 20:22 is ambiguous as to whether the spirit is transferred through inbreathing or by the speaking of the words “receive the holy spirit.”

the spirit at creation with knowledge. In addition, the 4Q504 and 4Q381 passages both juxtapose the giving of the spirit to mankind with the granting of dominion. The correspondence between John 20:22 and those passages, where God is the one who breathes in spirit might underline the divine character of Jesus.

However, neither the association with knowledge, nor the juxtaposition with dominion, would explain the connection in John 20:22-23 between the receipt of the spirit and the power to either forgive or retain sins. The only early Jewish text which explicitly refers to a human being forgiving sins is 4Q252 (4QNabonidus) in which a Jewish diviner forgave Nabonidus his sins. However, both the genre and the fragmentariness of the text should preclude any conclusions. Instead, reading backwards, we might consider two different scrolls compositions. The first is the *Rule of the Community*. Some of its passages that refer to a holy spirit in connection with purification or atonement (3:6-9 and 4:20-22) do not envisage any role of human beings as agents in this process. However, 1QS 9:3-4 juxtaposes the “foundation of a holy spirit” and “atonement for the guilt of transgression and the unfaithfulness of sin.” Here it is the community that atones for the land (see also 1QS 8:6, 10), so that its sin be forgiven. The other scrolls composition which might be of any relevance is *11QMelchizedek* (11Q13) which connects the messianic messenger and anointed of spirit of Isa 61:1 to the year of release, “liberty shall be proclaimed to them to free them from [the debt of] all their iniquities” (11Q13 2:6). However, the text does not deal with an individual who forgives the sins of others, but describes the priestly messianic figure who proclaims release.

Neither of these Dead Sea scrolls compositions would grant that individuals gifted with the holy spirit would be able to forgive sins. At best, but even that is uncertain, the *Community Rule* might imply that a community, through a holy spirit, would be able to atone for sin. Reading from the perspective of the scrolls, it would make more sense to understand John 20:21-23 as referring to the granting of the spirit to the disciples as community, not to them individually. This also means that a physical interpretation of ἐνέφυσήσεν, for example by kissing, should be questioned.

Some of the other spirit passages in John may be linked to the Hebrew Bible and the Dead Sea scrolls. The descent of the spirit in John 1:32-33 is connected with Isa 11:2, “the Spirit of the Lord shall rest on him,” but both in John 1:32-33 and in 16:13 we also see the influence of Isa 63:14, which connects תָּרֵד, “will come down,” with “holy spirit,” rather than with the preceding “cattle” (the scrolls never refer to the spirit as descending—except for the spirit or wind in the arteries going up and down in the *Damascus Document* section on skin disease). Like the scrolls, John 1:33 uses the SPIRIT IS WATER conceptual metaphor, which one should preferably translate with “dip/baptize in a holy spirit.” The Gospel of John does not expand on John the Baptist’s baptizing in water, but the association in the other gospels with repentance, confession, and forgiveness of sins (Mark 1:4-5) closely connects the water and spirit comparison to that in 1QS 3:6-9.

John 16:13, “when he comes, the Spirit of Truth, he will guide you into all the truth,” adopts the idea of “guiding” from Isa 63:14 (both texts use ὁδηγέω). Yet, the active agency of the spirit in the cluster of texts John 14:16, 17, 26; 15:26; 16:7, 13, contrasts with the scrolls, where the holy spirit is never agent, and the spirit of truth only to a limited extent. Instead, some of the activities assigned to the spirit in John, like “teach” are connected in a different way with spirit in the scrolls. However, it is not the spirit that teaches, but prophets who instruct and teach by his holy spirit (4Q381 69 4).



## 6.2. Acts 2

The Acts 2 narrative of the giving of the spirit includes time (Pentecost or Shavuot; Acts 2:1), the spirit's appearance, described in similes (sound as of a wind, tongues as of fire; Acts 2:2-3), the effect (each filled by the holy spirit speaks in other languages; Acts 2:4ff), a quotation of Joel 3:1-5a (Eng. 2:28-32) on the pouring out of the spirit (Acts 2:16-21), a long section on Jesus (Acts 2:22-36) which includes a reference to the pouring out of the spirit (2:33), and an admonition which promises the gift of the Holy Spirit on condition of repentance and baptism (2:38).

Acts 2:17 quotes Joel 3:1 (E2:28), with a slight adaptation of the beginning of the cited Joel text. "Then afterward" is changed to "In the last days,"<sup>111</sup> and as introduction to the divine person speech Acts adds, "God says." This is not a tradition that was shared by the preserved Dead Sea scrolls, even though some scrolls are much concerned with the last days. The preserved scrolls never refer to Joel 3:1-5a (E2:28-32a), nor do they use the expression "pouring out (שפך) the spirit."<sup>112</sup> Neither do the scrolls connect the granting of the spirit with the end of days. The only passage which might indicate this, 1QS 4:20-22, does indeed refer to eschatological purification by a spirit of holiness and a spirit of truth, but not to the outpouring or granting of the spirit. The absence of any reference to Joel 3:1-5 (E2:28-32) is most probably not a coincidence, but related to the world view of the texts. The scrolls are not concerned with spontaneous contemporary prophecy, and, apart from the Aramaic ones, take no interest in dreams and visions. Instead, they are very much concerned with gaining insight and understanding through study and meditation, and a life of discipline. All this conflicts with the universal pouring out of spirit of Joel and Acts.

The pouring out of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost has been connected to the Festival of Weeks as the celebration of the giving of Torah on Mt. Sinai in later Judaism. However, the giving of Torah is not thematized in the scrolls, nor connected to the Festival of Weeks. Rather, *Jubilees* associates the Festival with the renewal of the covenant by oaths, and the joined evidence of the *Rule of the Community* and the *Damascus Document* indicate an annual covenant ceremony in the third month, presumably during the Festival.<sup>113</sup> Indeed, the description of the covenant ceremony in 1QS 1:16-3:12 includes references to God's statutes (3:8) and purification by a holy spirit (3:6-9). However, the section does not include the theme of the giving of the spirit.<sup>114</sup>

The references to the noise or roar and fiery or flamy appearance are not found in the scrolls passages on the holy spirit, but the latter bears similitude to the description of the spirits of holiest holiness in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, which in turn is connected to Ezek 1 and 10.

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<sup>111</sup>This exegetical move may derive from the cotext, but was also facilitated by the similarity of אחרית and אחריו.

<sup>112</sup>4Q504 1+2 v recto 15 and Isa 44:3 also employ the metaphor of pouring God's spirit, but there the verb יצק, not שפך, is used. The Aramaic and Greek of 1 En. 91:1 are lost, and the Ethiopic *takə'wa* corresponds to various Hebrew verbs, including יצק and שפך.

<sup>113</sup>Daniel K. Falk, "Festivals and Holy Days," in *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*, 636-45, esp. 638-39.

<sup>114</sup>The closest connection of the holy spirit to the Sinai event, and hence perhaps to Pentecost would have been 1Q34/1Q34bis, but the crucial word "spirit" is missing in the lacuna.

Thus, 4Q405 20 ii - 22 10 “like the appearance of fire are *spirits of holiest holiness* round about the appearance of streams of fire like amber” (cf. also 4Q403 1 ii 6-9, and in the *Berakhot* 4Q287 2 4-5), as well as the juxtaposition of “holy spirits” and “flaming fire” in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:12-14. These texts do not use the expression “tongues of fire,” which is found, though, in the so-called *Apocryphon of Moses* (1Q29, 4Q376, and 4Q408), in the context of the High Priest appearing before the congregation after he has inquired of the Urim, a context which may be reconstructed on the basis of *Josephus’* account in *Ant.* 3.214-216.<sup>115</sup> While the contexts seems entirely different, the mention of the tongues of fire in Acts 2 may be an intentional reference to and appropriation of the high priestly tongues of fire: the universal gift of prophecy replaces the high priestly prerogative to inquire of God’s will.

From the perspective of the scrolls, there is no connection between spirit and the speaking in *other* languages. In fact, the two references to “another tongue” (1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:21 and 12:17) are clearly derogatory, and 4Q464 refers to “the holy tongue.”<sup>116</sup> A more general connection between spirit and speaking may be found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:29-30: “You yourself created breath for the tongue.” Or, if the sentences may be connected, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 4:29, “because of the spirits you have given in me ... I will find a proper response (lit. answer of the tongue).” In *Jub.* 25:13-14 and 31:12 a spirit descends in the mouth enabling prophecy.

Peter’s call in Acts 2:38 “Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ so that your sins may be forgiven; and you will receive the gift of the Holy Spirit,” might remind one of 1QS 3:6-9, which associates repentance, the wiping out of sin, and purification from iniquities by a spirit of holiness, as well as purification by water. In spite of the correspondence of some elements, their structure and meaning is quite different. In 1QS there is no gift of the “Holy Spirit,” but purification from iniquity through a spirit of holiness. Also, though both baptism and purificatory baths involve water, and the first may have developed from the latter, they are not the same. Therefore, the sequence of the acts also differs.

However, on another level the texts do show correspondences. Acts 1:5, “for John baptized with water, but you will be baptized with the Holy Spirit not many days from now,” creates a contrast between baptism with water and baptism with the Holy Spirit, even though the baptism in 2:38 and 41 probably did involve the use of water. Likewise, 1QS 3 contrasts purification by water to purification by a spirit, but nonetheless concludes the latter with purification and cleansing by water. Both texts are therefore witnesses to reflections on the efficacy and function of water rituals in relation to internal change, and both transform the function of the ritual.

### 6.3. Romans 7-8<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>115</sup>See discussion by John Strugnell in *Parabiblical Texts Part 2* (DJD 19; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 124-25, and Liora Goldman, “The Rules Regarding Fighting a Permitted War in 4Q376,” *Meghillot* 8-9 (2010): 319-41 [Hebrew].

<sup>116</sup>See the discussion by Steve Weitzman, “Why Did the Qumran Community Write in Hebrew?” *JAOS* 119 (1999): 35-45. Willem Smelik, “Language Selection and the Holy Tongue in Early Rabbinic Literature,” in *Interpretation, Religion and Culture in Midrash and Beyond: Proceedings of the 2006 and 2007 SBL Midrash Sessions* (ed. Lieve Teugels and Rivka Ulmer; Piscataway: Gorgias, 2008), 91-151 problematizes the concept of holy language. More practically, CD 14:9-10 seems to prescribe that an overseer should be competent in every language.

<sup>117</sup>See also Kister, “Body and Sin,” on correspondences in thought between Rom 6-8 and the Dead Sea scrolls.

The Pauline opposition “flesh” versus “spirit” in Rom 8:4-13 is found nowhere in the Dead Sea scrolls as it is phrased and conceptualized in Rom 8. Nonetheless, some of the sets of concepts and contrasts in Rom 7-8 can be highlighted from the perspective of the Dead Sea scrolls.

In spite of the different use of “spirit” in the scrolls, referring also to every living being, there is no plain terminological opposition between “flesh” and “spirit.” However, the *Hodayot* and *4QInstruction* do have some kind of differentiation between the “spirit of the flesh” (either individually or collectively) and the spirit which has been given by God. The former is primarily characterized by lack of knowledge, but the *Hodayot* sometimes describe the human condition as material and frail, guilty and impure. The opposition is then either between human beings and spirits, or between the human flesh and human spirit, versus the spirit that God gives. In a very general way the Romans “flesh” versus “spirit” opposition may be compared to the oppositions of the *Two Spirits Treatise*: both Rom 8 and the *Treatise* present two opposing ways of being and living, and similarly connects them with sin, with life and death. However, in the *Two Spirits Treatise* flesh is not thematized.

A negative association of “flesh” with “sin,” as in Rom 7:25, 8:3 might have a correspondence in negative terms in the scrolls. See, e.g., the *Hodayot*, as well as 1QS 11:9 and 1QM 4:3 with the expression *בשר עול*, “unjust flesh” and 1QS 11:12 with *עון בשר*, “sin of the flesh.” However, it is not clear whether these compound phrases also qualify “flesh” as such as sinful. Also, this negative association has no counterpart in positive associations with spirit. An almost exclusively negative association<sup>118</sup> can be found between the term *תכמים*, “innermost parts,” and evil or sin.

A minor issue in Rom 7, however, does have an interesting correlation with the scrolls. Romans 7:5 and 7:23 refer to a presence, respectively fight, of sin in a person’s members. The latter may correspond to statements in the *Two Spirits Treatise* which mention “the spirits of truth and injustice struggling in the hearts of men,” and in *Incantation* (4Q444) which refers to “spirits of conflict in the bodily frame.” More generally, the concept of either sin (Rom 7:17, 20) or God’s spirit (Rom 8:9, 11) dwelling within a person is reminiscent of the many scrolls references to either spirits or other evil beings or dispositions in a person’s bodily parts, as well as the idea that God’s spirit resides in persons. In the scrolls, the general concept seems to be that evil spirits of sin are in a person’s body, unless God places his spirit instead in the human body.

#### 6.4. Conclusions

The first basic thesis of this contribution is that the scrolls cannot be read as a uniform homogeneous collections, but that the collection contains compositions with clearly different conceptualizations of holy spirit. The other is that we cannot distract statements about holy spirit in specific texts from their textual context and larger world view. For a religious studies comparison of holy spirit in the scroll and in early Christianity, one should rather compare the different systems than

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<sup>118</sup>The one exception where the term is used in a neutral physical sense is 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:7 “my inner parts (bowels) are to me like a ship in a raging storm.”

individual statements. This holds, for example, for the basic difference that has been observed since the beginning of scholarship, namely that in the New Testament the Holy Spirit often appears as an acting figure, whereas in the scrolls the singular holy spirit is (with the exception of the quotation a few biblical passages) not an agent, but a medium. Or put more strongly, in the New Testament the spirit is presented as personal, in the scrolls as impersonal. However, a broader look at the conceptualizations of spirit in both systems, shows that both have a wider range of understanding of spirit, covering both the personal and the impersonal, the external and the internal.

Another example where one would need to study larger systems concerns the place of the spirit in time. The New Testament conceptualization of the Holy Spirit as eschatological seems to be paralleled in 1QS 4:20, where in the *Two Spirits Treatise* the holy spirit is mentioned only in connection to the eschatological katharsis. Also, the various compositions that interpreted Isa 10:33-11:5 eschatologically may warrant the association of holy spirit and the last days. However, in other literary cotexts, such as 1QS 3:6-9 or the *Hodayot*, there is no such connection.